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THE DIARY

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS.

1664—1665.



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INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume of Pepys's Diary contains his notes of the year memorable as that of the Plague of London, after which came, in the next year, the Great Fire that burnt out the Plague. All the great plagues of old were caused by ignorance of the conditions that must be fulfilled by men who live together in communities and wish to live in health. In the old days, even in isolated country homes, conditions of health were violated to a dangerous extent. Even in these days the want of practical knowledge and the strength of bad traditions bring Death into many a pretty English village, and pay him sacrifice, especially of children; though they are not sacrificed as they were in the Plague of Carthage, 534 years before Christ, to appease the gods. Seventy-three years after that Plague of Carthage, there was a plague in Rome that was said to have destroyed a hundred thousand in and around the city. The plague in Athens, about thirty years after the plague in Rome, has been described by Thucydides. A plague in the Greek Islands, Egypt, and Syria (188 B.C.) was said to have destroyed two thousand persons every day. During a plague in the Roman Empire in the middle of the third century after Christ, for some time the deaths by plague in Rome alone were estimated at five thousand daily. The Black Death, which swept through Europe in 1348-9, was worse than all that had preceded, and was followed by two other great pestilences before the end of the century. London had always some plague, and, roughly speaking, about once in ten years a consider-

The Great Plague of London in 1665 began at the close of the year 1664, with two or three deaths in one family in Westminster. The flight of neighbouring families into the city was supposed to be the cause of its spread. A Plague Year was commonly considered to be due in England once in twenty years, and expectation of a great plague was in this case strengthened by a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Sagittarius on the tenth of October, and of Saturn and Mars in the same sign on the twelfth of November. In December, 1664, a hard frost set in which lasted for three months.

The outbreak of the plague was confined to a few cases until the frost broke. Infected houses were then shut up by order of the magistrates. Their inmates might not come out of them, friends and relations of the inmates might not enter these closed houses, each of them marked with a red cross, and the inscription, "Lord, have mercy upon us." At the door of every closed house was a guard to hand in food and medicine, and compel every inmate to stay in, after recovery, for a forty days' quarantine. Each new case in a house so closed imposed new quarantine, and the result was not seldom the death of all the inmates. Dr. Nathaniel Hodges, a Fellow of the College of Physicians, who remained in practice in the City during the Plague Year and afterwards wrote an account of it, wisely condemned this practice of sealing houses up, and advised that, at the next outbreak of plague, hospitals should be fitted up outside the city for the special treatment and isolation of plague cases. Dr. Hodges believed that in the homes closed by the red cross, one cause of increased mortality was greed of the hired nurses, who, "out of greediness to plunder the dead, would strangle their patients and charge it to the distemper in their throats." He tells of a nurse learning

his nurse stripped and left for dead, "but, recovering again, he came a second time into the world naked."

The infection continued with fluctuating force through May and June, and in July the panic became general. Sooner or later all those who could leave London did so. Milton removed to Chalfont St. Giles; Dryden went to stay with his wife's family at Charlton. The Government appointed a monthly fast for Public Prayer, and called also upon the College of Physicians to draw up a paper of instructions. Four fellows of the College of Physicians were officially appointed to attend the infected on all occasions; and it was made the duty of two aldermen to see that this was done. Other physicians, including the Regius Professor at Cambridge, joined in the work as volunteers, but nine of them fell victims to the Plague. The rich amply supplied the wants of the poor, but the Plague raged at first so much more fiercely among the common people that some called it the Poor's Plague. The full force of the Plague was felt in the months of August and September. Three, four, or five thousand died in London every week of the Plague. In one week the mortality was eight thousand. It swept off rich and poor, but more women than men, and nearly all the children. Of those born in London in this year, 1665, but few escaped.

About the beginning of September, the deaths were more than twelve thousand in a week. Orders were given to burn fires for three days in all the streets. But when heavy rain had put out the last fires the mortality was at its highest. Four thousand died in one night. There was no famine with this pestilence. The rich were liberal, the markets well supplied, and it was an unusually good fruit year. Cherries and grapes in their several seasons were unusually plentiful.

One plague produced another: there was a great plague of quacks, increasing the mortality. The

escape of tainted citizens carried the Plague into the neighbouring counties, and especially desolation into the towns upon the Thames. In October the Plague declined, as gradually arisen. In the beginning of November had been shut up during the absence of which were reopened. Though the Plague had disappeared, its terrors were past. Fugitive Confidence was so great that rooms, and in which there had been quite recent deaths were used without purification. There was a fresh outbreak of mild cases in the spring without any great mortality. But in 1666 the number of deaths registered by the parish of St. Martin in the London Bills of Mortality was 97, and in these 68,597 died of the Plague. In the year 1625, the deaths from plague in London were 35,417. But a plague in Naples in 1656 killed off four hundred thousand in six months. It was saved from the recurrence of this scourge by the rebuilding made necessary by the Fire of London in 1666, which we shall find described in the Introduction of Mr. Pepys's Diary. War with the Dutch in the incident of 1665, was continued into 1666 and accounted for in the Introduction to Mr. Pepys's of that "Annus Mirabilis."

PEPYS'S DIARY.

January 1 1664-5, (Lord's day). This day I was dividing my expense, to see what my clothes and every particular have stood me in : I mean all the branches of my expense. At noon a good venison-pasty and a turkey to ourselves, without anybody so much as wished by us, a thing unusual for so small a family of my condition ; but we did it, and were very merry.

2nd. To my Lord Brouncker's by appointment, in the Piazza, in Covent Garden, where I occasioned much mirth with a ballet I brought with me, made from the seamen at sea to their ladies in town ; saying Sir W. Pen, Sir G. Ascue, and Sir J. Lawson made them. Here a most noble French dinner and banquet. The street full of footbolls, it being a great frost.

3rd. Up, and found Mr. Coventry walking in St. James's Park. I did my errand to him about the felling of the King's timber in the forests, and then to my Lord of Oxford, Justice in Eyre, for his consent thereto, for want whereof my Lord Privy Seal stops

have taken some of our colliers to the North: some say four, some say seven. To Sir W. Batten's, who is going out of town to Harwich to-morrow to set up a lighthouse there, which he hath lately got a patent from the King to set up, that will turn much to his profit.

4th. To my Lord of Oxford's, but his Lordship was in bed at past ten o'clock: and Lord help us! so rude a dirty family I never saw in my life. To the 'Change, where I hear of some more of our ships lost to the northward. Mr. Moore and I to *Love in a Tub*, which is very merry, but only so by gesture, not wit at all, which methinks is beneath the house.

6th. At night home, being twelfth-night, and there chose my piece of cake, but went up to my viol and then to bed, leaving my wife and people at their sports, which they continued till morning, not coming to bed at all.

8th (Lord's day). To Whitehall Chapel, where one Dr. Beaumont preached a good sermon, and afterwards a brave anthem upon the 150th Psalm, where upon the word "trumpet" very good music was made.

9th. Walked to Whitehall. I saw the Royal Society bring their new book, wherein is nobly writ their charters and laws, and comes to be signed by the Duke as a Fellow; and all the Fellows are to be entered there, and lie as a monument; and the King

this day sent to the tower, but I perceive it is made matter of jest only; but if the Dutch should be our masters, it may come to be of earnest to him to be given over to them for a sacrifice, as Sir W. Raleigh was. To a Tangier committee, where I was accosted and most highly complimented by my Lord Bellasses, our new governor, beyond my expectation, and I may make good use of it. Our patent is renewed, and he and my Lord Barkeley and Sir Thomas Ingram put in as commissioners.

11th. This evening by a letter from Plymouth, I hear that two of our ships, the *Leopard* and another, in the Straits, are lost by running aground; and that three more had like to have been so, but got off, whereof *Captain Allen* one: and that a Dutch fleet are gone thither; and if they should meet with our lame ships, God knows what would become of them. This I reckon most sad news; God make us sensible of it! When I came home, I was much troubled to hear my poor canary-bird, that I have kept these three or four years, was dead.

12th. Spoke with a Frenchman who was taken, but released by a Dutch man-of-war of thirty-six guns, with seven more of the King's, or greater ships, off the North Foreland, by Margate, which is a strange attempt, that they should come to our teeth; but the wind being easterly, the wind that should bring our force from Portsmouth will carry them away home.

13th. Walked to my Lord Bellasses' lodgings in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there he received and discoursed with me, in the most respectful manner that could be; telling me that he desired my advice and my constant correspondence, which he much valued, and my courtship, in which, though I understand his design very well, and that it is only a piece of courtship, yet it is a comfort to me that I am become so considerable as to have him need say that to me, which, if I did not do something in the world, would never have been. Yesterday's news confirmed, though a little different; but a couple of ships in the Straits we have lost, and the Dutch have been in the Margate Road. To the King's house, to a play, *The Traitor*, where, unfortunately, I met with Sir W. Pen, so that I must be forced to confess it to my wife, which troubles me. Thence walked home, being ill satisfied with the present actings of the house, and prefer the other house before this. To my Lady Batten's, where I find Pegg Pen, the first time that ever I saw her to wear spots.

14th. Our late ill news confirmed, in loss of two ships in the Straits, but are now the *Phoenix* and *Nonsuch*. To the King's house, there to see *Volpone*, a most excellent play; the best, I think I ever saw, and well acted.

15th (Lord's day). To church, where a most insipid

"Rushworth's Collections," about the charge against the late Duke of Buckingham, in order to the fitting me to speak and understand the discourse anon before the King, about the suffering the Turkey merchants to send out the fleet at this dangerous time, when we can neither spare them ships to go, nor men, nor King's ships to convey them. With Sir W. Pen in his coach to my Lord Chancellor's, where, by and by, Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen, Sir J. Lawson, Sir G. Ascue and myself were called in to the King, there being several of the Privy Council, and my Lord Chancellor lying at length upon a couch, of the gout, I suppose; and there Sir W. Pen spoke pretty well to dissuade the King from letting the Turkish ships go out: saying, in short, the King having resolved to have 130 ships out by the spring he must have above twenty of them merchantmen, towards which he in the whole river could find but twelve or fourteen, and of them, the five ships taken up by these merchants were a part, and so could not be spared. That we should need 30,000 sailors to man these 130 ships, and of them in service we have not above 16,000: so that we shall need 14,000 more. That these ships will, with their convoys, carry about 2,000 men, and those the best men that could be got; it being the men used to the Southward that are the best men for war, though those bred in the North, among the colliers, are good

nor honourable for the King, to expose these rich ships with his convoy of six ships to go, it not being enough to secure them against the Dutch, who, without doubt, will have a great fleet in the Straits. This Sir J. Lawson enlarged upon. Sir G. Ascue chiefly spoke that the war and trade could not be supported together. Mr. Coventry showed how the medium of the men the King hath one year with another employed in his navy since his coming, hath not been above 3,000 men, or at most 4,000 men; and now having occasion of 30,000, the remaining 26,000 must be found out of the trade of the nation. He showed how the cloths, sending by these merchants to Turkey, are already bought and paid for to the workmen, and are as many as they would send these twelve months or more; so the poor do not suffer by their not going, but only the merchant, upon whose hands they lie dead; and so the inconvenience is the less. And yet for them he propounded, either the King should, if his treasurer would suffer it, buy them, and showed the loss would not be so great to him: or dispense with the Act of Navigation, and let them be carried out by strangers; and ending that he doubted not but when the merchants saw there was no remedy, they would and could find ways of sending them abroad to their profit. All ended with a conviction, unless future discourse with the merchants should alter it, that it

disease, telling the horrible degree of its breaking out on his head. He observed, also, from the Prince, that courage is not what men take it to be, a contempt of death; for, says he, how chagrined the Prince was the other day when he thought he should die.

16th. Ned Pickering met me and told me how active my Lord is at sea, and that my Lord Hinchinbroke is now at Rome; and, by all report, a very noble and hopeful gentleman. Thence to Mr. Povy's, and dined well after his old manner of plenty and curiosity. To a Tangier committee, where my Lord Barkeley was very violent against Povy. My Lord Ashley, I observe, is a most clear man in matters of accounts, and most ingeniously did discourse and explain all matters.

17th. To my Lord Ashley's, where to see how simply, beyond all patience, Povy did again by his many words and non-understanding, confound himself and his business to his disgrace, and rendering everybody doubtful of his being either a fool or a knave, is very wonderful. We broke up all dissatisfied. Here it was mighty strange to find myself sit here in committee with my hat on, while Mr. Sherwin stood bare as a clerk, with his hat off to his Lord Ashley and the rest; but I thank God I think myself never a whit

a brace of pheasants, and very merry about it, very
folly.

18th. To my bookseller's, and there did give thorough direction for the new binding of a great many of my old books, to make my whole study of the same binding within very few.

19th. To Exeter House, and there was a witness of most base language against Mr. Povy from my Lord Peterborough, who is most furiously angry with him, because the other, as a fool, would needs say that the £26,000 was my Lord Peterborough's account and that he had nothing to do with it. This day was buried, but I could not be there, my cousin Percival Angier; and yesterday I received the news that Dr. Tom Pepys is dead at Impington, for which I am but little sorry, not only because he would have been troublesome to us, but a shame to his family and profession—he was such a coxcomb.

20th. To my bookseller's, and there took home Hook's book of Microscopy, a most excellent piece, and of which I am very proud. Homeward, in my way buying a hare and taking it home, which arose upon my discourse to-day with Mr. Batten in Westminster Hall, who showed me my mistake that my hare's foot hath not the joint to it, and assures me he never had his colic since he carried it about him; and it is a strange thing how fancy works, for I no sooner

his foot but I became very well, and so con-

Mr. Povy carried me to Somerset House, and showed me the Queen-Mother's chamber and most beautiful places for furniture and pictures, down the great stone stairs to the garden, and a brave echo upon the stairs, which continues as long as the singing three notes, concords, one together, they all three shall sound in consort a good while most pleasantly. To a Tangier ee, where I saw nothing ordered by judgment, at heat and passion and faction, now in behalf Lord Bellasses and to the reproach of my Lord

Now mighty well, and truly I can but im-

o my fresh hare's foot.

(Lord's day). To church. Thence home, dis- among other things, of a design I have of a match between Mrs. Betty Pickering and my friend the merchant that loves music, and o me on Sundays, a most ingenious and sweet and highly accomplished person. I know not if their fortunes may agree; but their disposition and its are much of a sort, and persons though yet equally, I think, acceptable.

Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen- ehall, but there finding the Duke gone to his in St. James's for altogether, his Duchess

informed by the Duke's own relation, by a letter from Captain Allen. First, of our own loss of two ships, the *Phoenix* and *Nonsuch* in the Bay of Gibraltar; then of his and his seven ships with him in the Bay of Cales, or thereabouts, fighting with the thirty-four Dutch Smyrna fleet; sinking the *King Salamon*, a ship worth £150,000 or more, some say £200,000, and another, and taking of three merchant-ships. Two of our ships were disabled by the Dutch unfortunately falling, against their will, against them; the *Advice*, Captain W. Poole, and *Antelope*, Captain Clerke. The Dutch men-of-war did little service. Captain Allen, before he would fire one gun, came within pistol-shot of the enemy. The Spaniards at Cales did stand laughing at the Dutch, to see them run away and flee to the shore, thirty-four or thereabouts, against eight Englishmen at most. I do purpose to get the whole relation, if I live, of Captain Allen himself. In our loss of the two ships in the Bay of Gibraltar, the world do comment upon the misfortune of Captain Moone of the *Nonsuch*, who did lose in the same manner the *Satisfaction*, as a person that hath ill luck attending him, without considering that the whole fleet was ashore. Captain Allen led the way, and himself writes that all the masters of the fleet, old and young, were mistaken, and did carry their ships aground. But I think I heard the Duke say

that Moone, being put into the *Oxford*, had in this conflict regained his credit by sinking one and taking another. Captain Seale, of the *Milford*, hath done his part very well in boarding the *King Salamon*, which held out half-an-hour after she was boarded, and his men kept her an hour after they did master her, and then she sank and drowned about seventeen of her men.

24th. The Dutch have, by consent of all the Provinces, voted no trade to be suffered for eighteen months, but that they apply themselves wholly to the war. Home to supper, having a great cold, got on Sunday last by sitting too long with my head bare for Mercer to comb and wash my ears.

25th. Dined upon a hare pie, very good meat. Mr. Hill tells me that he is to be assistant to the secretary of the Prize Office, Sir Ellis Layton, which, methinks, is but something low, but perhaps may bring him something considerable; but it makes me alter my opinion of his being so rich as to make a fortune for Mrs. Pickering.

27th. I away to Whitehall, and there walked up and down talking with Mr. Slingsby, who is a very ingenious person, about the Mint. He argues, that there being £700,000 coined in the Rump time, and by all the treasurers of that time, it being their opinion that the Rump money was in all payments, one with

money passing up and down in business is £700,000. He also made me fully understand that the old law of prohibiting bullion to be exported is, and ever was, a folly and injury rather than good. Arguing thus, that if the exportations exceed the importations, then the balance must be brought home in money, which, when our merchants know cannot be carried out again, they will forbear to bring home in money, but let it lie abroad for trade, or keep in foreign banks; or, if our importations exceed our exportations, then, to keep credit, the merchants will and must find ways of carrying out money by stealth, which is a most easy thing to do, and is everywhere done, and therefore the law against it signifies nothing in the world. Besides, that it is seen that where money is free there is great plenty, where it is restrained, as here, there is great want, as in Spain.

28th. To clear all my matters about colours, and I find myself to have got clear by that commodity, £50, and something more, and earned it with due pains and care and issuing of my own money, and saved the King near £100 in it.

30th. This is solemnly kept as a fast all over the City, but I kept my house, putting my closet to rights again. To my office, and being late at it, comes Mercer to me, to tell me that my wife was in bed and desired me to come home, for they hear, and have,

night after night, lately heard noises over their head upon the leads. Now, knowing that I have a great sum of money in my house, this puts me into a most mighty affright, that for more than two hours I could not almost tell what to do or say, but feared this night, and remembered that this morning I saw a woman and two men stand suspiciously in the entry in the dark; I calling to them, they made me only this answer, the woman saying that the men came to see her; but who she was I could not tell. The truth is, my house is mighty dangerous, having so many ways to be come to, and at my windows over the stairs, to see who goes up and down; but, if I escape to-night, I will remedy it. God preserve us this night safe! So, at almost two o'clock, I home to my house, and in great fear to bed, thinking every running of a mouse really a thief, and so to sleep, very brokenly all night long, and found all safe in the morning.

February 1. After being in bed, my people come and say there is a great stink of burning, but no smoke. We called up Sir J. Minnes's and Sir W. Batten's people, and Griffin, and the people at the madhouse, but nothing could be found to give occasion to it. At this trouble we were till past three o'clock, and then the stink ceasing, I to sleep and my people to bed.

3rd. To Mrs. Turner's, who I perceive is vexed,

great feasting for her husband's reading, in helping her to some good penn'eths, but I care not. My bill for the rebinding of some old books to make them suit with my study, cost me, besides other new books in the same bill, £3, but it will be very handsome. News is come from Deal that the same day my Lord Sandwich sailed thence with the fleet, that evening some Dutch men-of-war were seen on the back side of the Goodwin, and by all conjecture, must be seen by my Lord's fleet, which, if so, they must engage. To my uncle Wight's where the Wights all dined, and among the others pretty Mrs. Margaret, who indeed is a very pretty lady; and, though by my vow it costs me 12d. a kiss after the first, yet I did adventure upon a couple. To visit my Lady Sandwich, and she discoursed largely to me her opinion of a match, if it could be thought fit by my Lord, for my Lady Jemimah with Sir G. Carteret's eldest son; but I doubt he hath yet no settled estate in land. But I will inform myself and give her my opinion. Then Mrs. Pickering, after private discourse ended, we going into the other room, did at my Lady's command tell me the manner of a masquerade before the King and Court the other day, where six women, my Lady Castlemaine and Duchess of Monmouth being two of them, and six men, the Duke of Monmouth and Lord

dance admirably and most gloriously. God give us cause to continue the mirth!

4th. I to the "Sun" behind the 'Change, to dinner to my Lord Bellasses. He told us a very handsome passage of the King's sending him his message about holding out the town of Newark, of which he was then governor for the King. This message he sent in a slug-bullet, being written in cipher, and wrapped up in lead and sealed. So the messenger came to my Lord and told him he had a message from the King, but it was yet in his belly; so they did give him some physie and out it came. This was a month before the King's flying to the Scots; and therein he told him that at such a day, the 3rd or 6th of May, he should hear of his being come to the Scots, being assured by the King of France, that in coming to them he should be used with all the liberty, honour, and safety that could be desired. And at the just day he did come to the Scots. He told us another odd passage, how the King having newly put out Prince Rupert of his generalship, upon some miscarriage at Bristol, and Sir Richard Willis of his governorship of Newark at the entreaty of the gentry of the county, and put in my Lord Bellasses, the great officers of the King's army mutinied, and came in that manner with swords drawn, into the market-place of the town where the King was, which the King hearing, says, "I must horse." And

they should have been opposed, the King came, and cried to the head of the mutineers, which was Prince Rupert, "Nephew, I command you to be gone." So the Prince, in all his fury and discontent, withdrew, and his company scattered.

6th. One of the coldest days, all say, they ever felt in England.

7th. At home at dinner. It being Shrove Tuesday, had some very good fritters. This day, Sir W. Batten, who hath been sick four or five days, is now very bad, so as the people begin to fear his death; and I at a loss whether it will be better for me to have him die, because he is a bad man, or live, for fear a worse should come.

9th. Sir William Petty tells me that Mr. Barlow is dead, for which, God knows my heart, I could be as sorry as is possible for one to be for a stranger, by whose death he gets £100 per annum.

10th. To Paul's Churchyard, there to see the last of my books new bound; among others, my "Court of King James," and "The Rise and Fall of the Family of the Stuarts;" and much pleased I am now with my study; it being, methinks, a beautiful sight. In Mr. Grey's coach to Westminster, where I heard that yesterday the King met the Houses to pass the great bill for £2,500,000.

12th (Lord's day). To church, to St. Lawrence's in

curiosity, I having never heard him: but was not satisfied with him at all. I was well pleased with the church, it being a very fine church.

13th. On board Sir W. Petty's *Experiment*, which is a fine roomy vessel, and I hope may do well. Light upon some Dutchmen, with whom we had good discourse, touching stoving, and making of cables. But to see how despicably they speak of us for using so many hands more to do anything than they do—they closing a cable with twenty that we use sixty men upon. Captain Stokes, it seems, is dead at Portsmouth.

14th (St. Valentine). This morning comes betimes Dick Pen, to be my wife's Valentine, and came to our bedside. By the same token I had him brought to my side, thinking to have made him kiss me; but he perceived me, and would not, so went to his Valentine, a notable, stout, witty boy. My Lord Sandwich is, it seems, with his fleet at Aldborough Bay.

15th. Busy all the morning. At noon, with Creed to the Trinity House, where a very good dinner among the old jokers, and an extraordinary discourse of the manner of the loss of the *Royal Oak* coming home from Bantam, upon the rocks of Scilly. Thence with Creed to Gresham College, where I had been by Mr. Povy the last week proposed to be admitted a member; and was this day admitted by signing a book, and being taken by the hand of the president, my Lord Brouncker,

being done, they to the crown Tavern, and the
'Change, and there my Lord and most of the company
to a club supper; Sir P. Neale, Sir R. Murray, Dr.
Clerke, Dr. Whistler, Dr. Goddard, and others of the
most eminent worth. Above all Mr. Boyle was at the
meeting, and above him, Mr. Hooke, who is the most,
and promises the least, of any man in the world that
ever I saw. Here excellent discourse till ten at night,
and then home.

16th. To Whitehall, where a committee of Tangier,
but, Lord! to see what a degree of contempt—nay,
scorn, Mr. Povy, through his prodigious folly, hath
brought on himself in his accounts, that if he be not a
man of a great interest, he will be kicked out of his
employment for a fool.

17th. Povy tells me how he was hunted the other
day, and is still, by my Lord Barkeley; and, among
other things, tells me what I did not know, that my
Lord will say openly that he hath fought more set
fields than any man in England hath done.

18th. At noon, to the Royal Oak Tavern in Lombard
Street, where Sir William Petty and the owners of the
double-bottomed boat, the *Experiment* did entertain
my Lord Brouncker, Sir R. Murray, myself, and
others, with marrow-bones and a chine of beef, of the
victuals they have made for this ship, and excellent
company and good discourse; but, above all, I do

value Sir William Petty. Thence home, and took my Lord Sandwich's draught of the harbour of Portsmouth down to Ratcliffe, to one Burston, to make a plate for the King, and another for the Duke, and another for himself, which will be very neat. My Lord Sandwich, and his fleet of twenty-five ships in the Downs, returned from cruising, but could not meet with any Dutchmen.

19th (Lord's day). Hearing by accident of my maid's letting in a roguing Scotchwoman that haunts the office, to help them to wash and scour in our house, and that very lately I fell mightily out, and made my wife, to the disturbance of the house and neighbours, to beat our little girl, and then we shut her down into the cellar, and there she lay all night.

20th. Rode into the beginning of my Lord Chancellor's new house, near St. James's, which common people have already called Dunkirk House, from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that town. And very noble I believe it will be. Near that is my Lord Berkeley beginning another on one side, and Sir J. Denham on the other. To the Sun Tavern, where we dined merry, but my club and the rest came to 7s. 6d., which was too much.

21st. I dined with Sir W. Batten and my lady, they being nowadays very fond of me. My Lady Sandwich tells me how my Lord Castlemaine is coming, and it is believed will soon be made

friends with his lady again. What mad freaks the Maids of Honour at Court have—that Mrs. Jennings, one of the Duchess's maids, the other day, dressed herself like an orange wench, and went up and down and cried oranges, till, falling down, or by some accident, her fine shoes were discerned, and she put to a great deal of shame; that such as these tricks being ordinary, and worse among them, thereby few will venture upon them for wives; my Lady Castlemaine will in merri-ment say, that her daughter, not above a year old or two, will be the first maid in the Court that will be married. This day my Lord Sandwich wrote me word from the Downs, that he is like to be in town this week.

22nd. At noon to the 'Change, busy; where great talk of a Dutch ship in the North put on shore, and taken by a troop of horse.

23rd. This day, by the blessing of Almighty God, I have lived thirty-two years in the world, and am in the best degree of health at this minute that I have been almost in my lifetime, and at this time in the best condition of estate that ever I was in—the Lord make me thankful!

25th. At noon to the 'Change, where, just before I come, the Swede that had told the King and the Duke so boldly a great lie of the Dutch flinging our men back to back into the sea at Guinny, so particu-

the 'Change, he confessing it a lie, and that he did it in hopes to get something. It is said the judges, upon demand, did give it their opinion that the law would judge him to be whipped, to lose his ears, or to have his nose slit; but I do not hear that anything more is to be done to him. They say he is delivered over to the Dutch Ambassador to do what he pleased with him. To the Sun Tavern, and there dined with Sir W. Batten and Mr. Gifford, the merchant; and I hear how Nick Colborne, that lately lived and got a great estate there, is gone to live like a prince in the country; and that this Wadlow, that did the like at the Devil by St. Dunstan's, did go into the country, and there spent almost all he had got, and hath now chased this Colborne out of his house, that he might come to his old trade again.

27th. We to a Committee of the Council to discourse concerning pressing of men; but, Lord! how they meet! never sit down; one comes, now another goes, then comes another; one complaining that nothing is done, another swearing that he hath been there these two hours and nobody come. At last my Lord Anglesey says, "I think we must be forced to get the King to come to every committee, for I do not see that we do anything at any time but when he is here." And I believe he said the truth, and very constant he he is on council-days, which his predecessors, it seems,

there he did contract with me a kind of friendship and freedom of communication, wherein he assures me to make me understand the whole business of the Treasurer of the Navy, that I shall know, as well as Sir G. Carteret, what money he hath; and will needs have me come to him sometimes, or he meet me, to discourse of things tending to the serving the King; and I am mighty proud and happy in becoming so known to such a man. And I hope shall pursue it.

March 1. Being the day that by a promise, a great while ago made to my wife, I was to give her £20 to lay out in clothes against Easter, I did give it her, and then she abroad to buy her things. To Gresham College, where Mr. Hooke read a second very curious lecture about the late comet; among other things, proving very probably that this is the very same comet that appeared before in the year 1618, and that in such a time probably it will appear again, which is a very new opinion; but all will be in print. Then to the meeting, where Sir G. Carteret's two sons, his own, and Sir N. Slanning, were admitted of the society, and this day I did pay my admission money, 40s., to the Society. Here was very fine discourses and experiments, but I do lack philosophy enough to understand them, and so cannot remember them. Among others, a very particular account of the making of the several sorts of bread in France, which is accounted the best place for bread in the world.

2nd. Begun this day to rise betimes before six o'clock, and going down to call my people, found Bessie and the girl with their clothes on, lying within their bedding upon the ground close by the fireside, and a candle burning all night, pretending they would rise to scour. But Bessie is going, and so she will not trouble me long.

3rd. To see Mrs. Turner, who takes it mightily ill I did not come to dine with the Reader in Law, her husband, which, she says, was the greatest feast that ever was yet kept by a reader, and I believe it was well. But I am glad I did not go, which confirms her in an opinion that I am grown proud.

4th. William Howe came to see me. He tells me how little respectfully Sir W. Pen did carry it to my Lord on board the Duke's ship at sea, and that Captain Minnes, a favourite of Prince Rupert's, do show my Lord little respect; but that everybody else esteems my Lord as they ought. This day was proclaimed at the 'Change the war with Holland.

5th. (Lord's day). To my Lord Sandwich's, and dined with my Lord, it being the first time he hath dined at home since his coming from sea; and a pretty odd demand it was of my Lord to my Lady before me: "How do you, sweetheart? How have you done all this week?" himself taking notice of it to me that he had hardly seen her the week before. At dinner he

in carving for me and nobody else, and calling often to my Lady to cut for me, and all the respect possible.

6th. With Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, and there did our business with the Duke. Great preparations for his speedy return to sea. I saw him try on his buff coat and hat-piece covered with black velvet. It troubles me more to think of his venture than of anything else in the whole war. I saw Bessie go away, she having, of all wenches that ever lived with us, received the greatest love and kindness, and good clothes besides wages, and gone away with the greatest ingratitude.

8th. This morning is brought me to the office the sad news of *The London*, in which Sir J. Lawson's men were all bringing her from Chatham to the Hope, and thence he was to go to sea in her; but a little on this side the buoy of the Nore, she suddenly blew up. About twenty-four men and a woman that were in the round-house and coach saved, the rest being above three hundred drowned, the ship breaking all in pieces, with eighty pieces of brass ordnance. She lies sunk, with her round-house above water. Sir J. Lawson hath a great loss in this of so many good chosen men, and many relations among them.

9th. At Paul's school, where I visited Mr. Crum-lum at his house. Among other discourse, we fell to the old discourse of Paul's school; and he did, upon

grammars of a very old impression, as it was in the Catholic times, at which I shall much set by. This night my wife had a new suit of flowered ash-coloured silk, very noble.

10th. At noon to the 'Change, where very hot, people's proposal of the city giving the King another ship for *The London*, that is lately blown up. It would be very handsome, and, if well managed, might be done; but, I fear, if it be put into ill hands, or that the courtiers do solicit it, it will never be done. To the Committee of Tangier at Whitehall, where my Lord Barkeley, and Craven, and others; but, Lord! to see how superficially things are done in the business of the lottery, which will be the disgrace of the fishery, and without profit.

11th. Sir J. Minnes from Lee Road, where they have been to see the wreck of *The London*, cut of which, they say, the guns may be got, but the hull of her will be wholly lost, as not being capable of being weighed.

12th. (Lord's day.) Borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, to my Lord Sandwich's, but he was gone abroad. I sent the coach back for my wife, my Lord a second time dining at home on purpose to meet me, he having not dined once at home, but those times, since his coming from sea. I sat down and read over the Bishop of Chichester's sermon upon the anniversary

a mean sermon. Down to dinner, where my wife in her new lace whisk, which indeed is very noble, and I am much pleased with it, and so my lady also. Here very pleasant my Lord was at dinner; and after dinner did look over his plate, which Burston hath brought him to-day, and is the last of the three that he will have made. After much discourse with my lady about Sir G. Carteret's son, of whom she hath some thoughts for a husband for my Lady Jemima, we away home by coach again.

13th. This day my wife began to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet, not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them.

14th. Dined with Sir W. Batten and Sir. J. Minnes at the Tower, with Sir J. Robinson, at a farewell dinner which he gives Major Holmes at his going out of the Tower, where he hath for some time, since his coming from Guinny, been a prisoner, and, it seems, had presented the Lieutenant with fifty pieces yesterday. Here a great deal of good victuals and company.

15th. To dinner, where my wife being gone down upon a sudden warning from my Lord Sandwich's daughters, to the *Hope* with them, to see the Prince, I dined alone. Anon to Gresham College, where among other good discourse, there was tried the great poison of Maccassa upon a dog, but it had no effect all the time we sat there.

sent me a noble present of two large silver candlesticks and snuffers, and a slice to keep them upon, which indeed is very handsome.

17th. The Duke did give us some commands, and so broke up, not taking leave of him. But the best piece of news is, that instead of a great many troublesome Lords, the whole business is to be left with the Duke of Albemarle to act as Admiral in his stead; which is a thing that do cheer my heart; for the other would have vexed us with attendance, and never done the business. Povy and I by water to London together. In the way, of his own accord, he proposed to me that he would surrender his place of Treasurer to me to have half the profit. The thing is new to me; but, the more I think, the more I like it, and do put him upon getting it done by the Duke.

19th. (Lord's day.) To my Lord Sandwich's to dinner, and after dinner to Mr. Povy's, who hath been with the Duke of York, and by the mediation of Mr. Coventry, the Duke told him that the business shall go on, and he will take off Brouncker, and my Lord Fitz-Harding is quiet, too. Mr. Povy and I in his coach to Hyde Park, being the first day of the tour there, where many brave ladies; among others, Castlemaine lay impudently upon her back in her coach, asleep, with her mouth open. There was also my Lady Kerneguy, once my Lady Anne Hambleton. Here I

saw Sir J. Lawson's daughter and husband, a fine couple, and also Mr. Southwell and his new lady, very pretty. Thence back, putting in at Dr. Where's where I saw his lady, a very fine woman.

20th. Creed and I had Mr. Povy's coach sent for us, and we to his house; where we did some business, in order to the work of this day. Povy and I to my Lord Sandwich, who tells me that the Duke is not only a friend to the business, but to me, in terms of the greatest love and respect and value of me that can be thought, which overjoys me. Thence to St. James's, and there was in great doubt of Brouncker; but at last I hear that Brouncker desists. The Duke did direct Secretary Bennet to declare his mind to the Tangier Committee, that he approves of me for Treasurer; and with a character of me to be a man whose industry and discretion he would trust soon as any man's in England: and did the like to my Lord Sandwich. So to Whitehall, to the Committee of Tangier, where there were present, my Lord of Albemarle, my Lord Peterborough, Sandwich, Berkeley, FitzHarding, Secretary Bennet, Sir Thomas Ingram, Sir John Lawson, Povy and I; where after other business, Povy did declare his business very handsomely; that he was sorry he had been so unhappy in his accounts, as not to give their Lordships the satisfaction he intended, and that he was sure his accounts were right and continues to submit them to

the work might be better done, and with more quiet to him, he desired by approbation of the Duke, he might resign his place to Mr. Pepys. Whereupon Secretary Bennet did deliver the Duke's command, which was received with great content and allowance beyond expectation; the Secretary repeating also the Duke's character of me. And I could discern my Lord Fitz-Harding was well pleased with me, and signified full satisfaction, and whispered something seriously of me to the Secretary, and there I received their constitution under all their hands presently; so that I am already confirmed their Treasurer, and put into a condition of striking of tallies: and all without one harsh word of dislike, but quite the contrary; which is a good fortune beyond all imagination. Here we rose, and Povy and Creed and I, all full of joy, thence to dinner, they setting me down at Sir J. Winter's by promise, and dined with him, and a worthy fine man he seems to be, and of good discourse; and a fine thing it is to see myself come to the condition of being received by persons of this rank, he being, and having long been Secretary to the Queen-Mother. News is this day come of Captain Allen being come home from the Straits, as far as Portland, with eleven of the King's ships, and about twenty-two of merchantmen.

21st. My tailor coming to me, did consult all my

wardrobe, how to order my clothes against next summer. Received a couple of state-caps, very large, coming I suppose, to about £6 a-piece, from Burrows, the slop-seller.

22nd. To Mr. Houblon's, the merchant, where Sir William Petty, and abundance of most ingenious men, owners and freighters of *The Experiment* now going with her two bodies to sea. Most excellent discourse. Sir William Petty did tell me that in good earnest he hath in his will left some parts of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. After dinner, Mr. Hill took me with Mrs. Houblon, who is a fine gentlewoman, into another room, and there made her sing, which she does very well, to my great content. Thence to Gresham College, and there did see a kitling killed almost quite, but that we could not quite kill her with such a way: the air out of a receiver, wherein she was put, and then the air being let in upon her, revives her immediately—nay, and this air is to be made by putting together a liquor and some body that ferments—the steam of that does the work. I saw the Duke, kissed his hand, and had his most kind expressions of his value and opinion of me, which comforted me above all things in the world: the like from Mr. Coventry most heartily and affectionately. Saw among other fine ladies, Mrs. Middleton, a very great beauty; and I saw Waller, the poet, whom I never saw before.

this day by water down to the *Hope*, where the Prince lies. He received me, busy as he was, with mighty kindness and joy at my promotions; telling me most largely how the Duke hath expressed on all occasions his good opinion of my service and love for me.

24th. To Povy's, and there delivered him his letters of greatest import to him that is possible, yet dropped by young Bland, just come from Tangier, upon the road by Sittingburne, taken up, and sent to Mr. Pett, at Chatham. Thus everything done by Povy is done with a fatal folly and neglect. To my Lady Sandwich's, where my wife all this day, having kept Good Friday very strict with fasting. Here we supped, and talked very merry. My lady alone with me, very earnest about Sir. G. Carteret's son with whom I perceive they do desire my Lady Jemima may be matched.

26th. (Lord's day and Easter day.) This is the day seven years which by the blessing of God, I have survived of my being cut of the stone, and am now in very perfect good health, and have long been; and though the last winter hath been as hard a winter as any have been these many years, yet I never was better in my life, nor have not, these ten years, gone colder in the summer than I have done all this winter, wearing only a doublet, and a waistcoat cut open on the back; abroad, a cloak, and within doors a coat I slipped on.

Now I am at a loss to know whether it be my hare's foot which is my preservation; for I never had a fit of the colic since I wore it, or whether it be my taking a pill of turpentine every morning.

27th. Up betimes to Mr. Povy's, and there did sign and seal my agreement with him about my place of being Treasurer for Tangier. Thence to the Duke of Albemarle, the first time that we officers of the Navy have waited upon him since the Duke of York's going, who hath deputed him to be Admiral in his absence; and I find him a quiet heavy man, who will help business when he can, and hinder nothing. I did afterwards alone give him thanks for his favour to me about my Tangier business, which he received kindly, and did speak much of his esteem of me. Thence, and did the same to Sir H. Bennet, who did the like to me very fully. To my Lord Peterborough's; where Povy, Creed, Williamson, Auditor Beale, and myself, and mighty merry to see how plainly my Lord and Povy do abuse one another about their accounts, each thinking the other a fool, and I thinking they were not either of them, in that point, much in the wrong, though in everything, and even in this manner of reproaching one another, very witty and pleasant. Among other things, we had here the genteelst dinner and the neatest house that I have seen many a day, and the latter beyond anything I ever saw in a nobleman's

ndly to me about the same business of
He said that the Parliament must be called
and more money raised, not by tax, for he
eved the people could not pay it, but he
either a general excise upon everything, or
ery city incorporate should pay a toll into
revenue, as he says it is in all the cities in
or here a citizen hath no more laid on them
ighbours in the country, whereas, as a city,
pay considerably to the King for their
I fear this will breed ill blood.

wing up a proposal for Captain Taylor
eliver to the city about his building the
rich I have done well, and I hope will do

isit my Lord of Falmouth, who did also
retty civilly, but not as I expected: he, I
ieving that I had undertaken to justify
nts, taking them upon myself; but I
therein. I find Creed mightily trans-
y Lord of Falmouth's kind words to him,
hat he hath a place in his intention for
e believes will be considerable. A witty
every respect, but of no good nature, nor
rily to be dealt with.

With Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and
as, to my Lord Treasurer, and there did
expense for the six months past, and an

estimate of the seven months to come, to November next; the first rising to above £500,000, and the latter will, as we judge, come to above £1,000,000. But to see how my Lord Treasurer did bless himself, crying he would do no more than he could, nor give more money than he had, if the occasion and expense were never so great, which is but a bad story.

3rd. To a play at the Duke's, of my Lord Orrery's, called *Mustapha*, which, being not good, made Betterton's part and Ianthe's but ordinary too. All the pleasure of the play was, the King and my Lady Castlemaine were there: and pretty witty Nell Gwynne, at the King's house, and the younger Marshall sat next us; which pleased me mightily.

5th. This day was kept publicly, by the King's command, as a fast day against the Dutch War. To Woolwich and Deptford, where did a very great deal of business, and then home, and there by promise find Creed, and he and my wife, and Mercer and I, by coach to take the air; and where we had formerly been, at Hackney, did there eat some pullets we carried with us, and some things of the house; and after a game or two at shuffle board, home, and Creed lay with me; but being sleepy, he had no mind to talk about business, which indeed I intended, by inviting him to lie with me, so to bed, he and I to sleep, being the first time I have been so much at my ease, and taken so much fresh air these many weeks or months.

at was mending there. Great talk of a new
; and it is certain do appear as bright as the late
the best ; but I have not seen it myself.

Sir Philip Warwick did show me nakedly the
condition for money for the Navy ; and he
me, unless the King can get some noblemen or
oney-gentlemen to lend him money, or to get the
do it, it is impossible to find money ; we having
; as he says, spent one year's share of the three-
tax, which comes to £2,500,000.

To the Old Exchange, and there, of my pretty
ress, bought four bands. The French Am-
ors are come incognito before their train, which
reafter be very pompous. It is thought they
o get our King to join with the King of
in helping him against Flanders, and they to
like to us against Holland. We have lain a
mile with a good fleet at Harwich. The Dutch
yet to be out. We, as high as we make our
am sure, are unable to set out another small
this should be worsted. Wherefore, God send
! I cry.

Lord's day.) To church with my wife in the
; in her new light-coloured silk gown, which is,
; new point, very noble.

My Lord. Brouncker took me and Sir Thomas
in his coach to the Park, which is very

troublesome with the dust; and ne'er a great beauty there to-day but Mrs. Middleton.

11th. At noon dined at the "Sun," behind the 'Change, with Sir Edward Deering and his brother and Commissioner Pett, we having made a contract with Sir Edward this day about timber.

12th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, contrary to all expectation, my Lord Ashley, being vexed with Povy's accounts, did propose it as necessary that Povy should be still continued Treasurer of Tangier till he had made up his accounts; and with such arguments as, I confess, I was not prepared to answer, but by putting off of the discourse, and so, I think, brought it right again, but it troubled me. Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvey, and myself, down to my Lord Treasurer's chamber to him and the Chancellor, and the Duke of Albemarle; and there I did give them a large account of the charge of the Navy, and want of money. But strange to see how they hold up their hands, crying, "What shall we do?" Says my Lord Treasurer, "Why, what means all this, Mr. Pepys? This is all true, you say; but what would you have me to do? I have given all I can for my life. Why will not people lend their money? Why will they not trust the King as well as Oliver? Why do our prizes come to nothing, that yielded so much heretofore?" And this was all we could get,

the saddest things that, at such a time as this, with the greatest action on foot that ever was in England, nothing should be minded, but let things go on of themselves and do as well as they can.

13th. To Sheriff Waterman's to dinner, all of us men of the office in town, and our wives, my Lady Carteret and daughters, and Ladies Batten, Pen, and my wife, &c. Very good cheer we had, and merry music at and after dinner, and a fellow danced a jig; but when the company began to dance, I came away lest I should be taken out; and God knows how my wife carried herself, but I left her to try her fortune.

14th. Up, and betimes to Mr. Povy, being desirous to have an end of my trouble of mind touching my Tangier business, whether he hath any desire of accepting what my Lord Ashley offered, of his becoming Treasurer again; and there I did, with a seeming most generous spirit, offer him to take it back again upon his own terms; but he did answer me, that he would not, above all things in the world, at which I was for the present satisfied; but, going away thence and speaking with Creed, he puts me in doubt that the very nature of the thing will require that he be put in again; and did give me the reasons of the auditors, which, I confess, are so plain, that I know not how to withstand them. But he did give me most ingenious advice what to do in it, and anon, my Lord Barkeley and some of the Commissioners coming together

though not in a meeting, I did procure that they should order Povy's payment of his remain of accounts to me; which order, if it do pass, will put a good stop to the fastening of the thing upon me. Called my wife and with her through the City, to Mile-End Green, and ate some cream and cakes, and so back home. This morning, I was saluted with the news that the fleets, our's and the Dutch, were engaged, and that the guns were heard at Walthamstow to play all yesterday, and that Captain Teddiman's legs were shot off in the *Royal Catherine*. But before night I heard the contrary, both by letters of my own and messengers thence, that they were all well of our side, and no enemy appears yet, and that the *Royal Catherine* is come to the fleet, and likely to prove as good a ship as any the King hath, of which I am heartily glad, both for Christopher Pett's sake, and Captain Teddiman, that is in her.

16th. (Lord's day.) I walked to the Rolls Chapel, expecting to hear the great Stillingfleet preach, but he did not; but a very sorry fellow, which vexed me. Captain [Silas] Taylor, my old acquaintance at Westminster, supped with me, and a good understanding man he is, and a good scholar; and, among other things a great antiquary. He can, as he says, show the very original charter to Worcester, of King Edgar's, wherein he styles himself Rex Marium Britanniae, &c.; which is the great text that Mr. Selden and others do

quote, but imperfectly and upon trust. But he hath the very original, which, he says, he will show me. This night news is come of our taking three Dutch men-of-war, with the loss of one of our captains.

17th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, where he showed me Mr. Coventry's letters, how three Dutch privateers are taken, in one whereof Everon's son is captain. But they have killed poor Captain Golding in *The Diamond*. Two of them, one of 32, and the other of 20 odd guns, did stand stoutly up against her, which hath 46, and the *Yarmouth*, that hath 52 guns, and as many more men as they. So that they did more than we could expect, not yielding till many of their men were killed. And Everson, when he was brought before the Duke of York, and was observed to be shot through the hat, answered, that he wished it had gone through his head rather than been taken. One thing more is written; that two of our ships the other day appearing upon the coast of Holland, they presently fired their beacons round the country to give them notice. And news is brought the King, that the Dutch Smyrna fleet is seen upon the back of Scotland; and thereupon the King hath wrote to the Duke, that he do appoint a fleet to go to the Northward to try to meet them coming home round: which God send! Thence to Whitehall, where the King, seeing me, did come to me, and, calling me by name, did discourse with me about the ships in the river; and this is the

first time that ever I knew the King did know me personally; so that hereafter I must not go thither, but with expectation to be questioned, and to be ready to give good answers. Thence with Creed, who came to dine with me, to the Old James, where we dined with Sir W. Rider and Cutler, and, by-and-by, being called by my wife, we all to a play, *The Ghosts*, at the Duke's house, but a very simple play. This day was left at my house a very neat silver watch, by one Briggs, a scrivener and solicitor, which I was angry with my wife for receiving, or at least, for opening the box wherein it was, and so far witnessing our receipt of it, as to give the messenger 5s. for bringing it; but it can't be helped, and I will endeavour to do the man a kindness, he being a friend of my uncle Wight's.

18th. To Sir Philip Warwick, and with him to my Lord Treasurer, who signed my commission for Tangier Treasurer, and the docket of my Privy Seal, for the moneys to be paid to me.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and by water to Whitehall; and there took coach, and with Mr. Moore to Chelsea: where, after all my fears what doubts and difficulties my Lord Privy Seal would make at my Tangier Privy Seal, he did pass it at first reading, without my speaking with him: and then called me in, and was very civil to me. I passed my time in contemplating, before I was called in, the picture of my Lord's son's lady, a most beautiful woman, and most like to Mrs.

Butler: Thence, very much joyed, to London back again, and found out Mr. Povy; told him this, and then went and left my Privy Seal at my Lord Treasurer's: and so to the 'Change, and thence to Trinity House; where a great dinner of Captain Crisp, who is made an Elder Brother. And so, being very pleasant at dinner, away home, Creed with me, and there met Povy; and we to Gresham College, where we saw some experiments upon a hen, a dog, and a cat, of the Florence poison. The first it made for a time drunk, but it came to itself again quickly; the second it made vomit mightily, but no other hurt. The third I did not stay to see the effect of it.

21st. This day we hear that the Duke and the fleet are sailed yesterday. Pray God go along with them, that they have good speed in the beginning of their work.

22nd. My wife making great preparation to go to Court to chapel to-morrow.

23rd. (Lord's day.) Mr. Povy, according to promise, sent his coach betimes, and I carried my wife and her woman to Whitehall Chapel, and heard the famous young Stillingfleet, whom I knew at Cambridge, and he is now newly admitted one of the King's chaplains; and was presented, they say, to my Lord Treasurer for St. Andrew's, Holborn, where he is now minister, with these words: that they, the Bishops of Canterbury,

man to preach the Gospel of any since the Apostles. He did make a most plain, honest, good, grave sermon, in the most unconcerned and easy yet substantial manner that ever I heard in my life, upon the words of Samuel to the people : " Fear the Lord in truth with all your heart, and remember the great things that he hath done for you ; " it being proper to this day, the day of the King's Coronation. After dinner, Creed and we by coach took the air in the fields beyond St. Pancras, it raining now and then, which it seems is most welcome weather. After supper, Creed and I together to bed, in Mercer's bed ; and so to sleep.

24th. To the Duke of Albemarle, where very busy. To my Lady Sandwich's to dinner, where my wife by agreement. Thence to the cock-pit, and there walked an hour with my Lord Duke of Albemarle alone in his garden, where he expressed in great words his opinion of me : that I was the right hand of the Navy here, nobody but I taking any care of anything therein : so that he should not know what could be done without me. At which I was, from him, not a little proud. So by coach with my wife and Mercer to the Park ; but the King being there, and I now-a-days being doubtful of being seen in any pleasure, did part from the tour, and away out of the Park to Knightsbridge, and there ate and drank in the coach, and so home.

25th. This afternoon, W. Pen, lately come from his father in the fleet, did give me an account how the

fleet did sail, about 103 in all, besides small catches, they being in sight of six or seven Dutch scouts, and sent ships in chase of them.

27th. Creed dined with me; and, after dinner, walked in the garden, he telling me that my Lord Treasurer now begins to be scrupulous, and will know what becomes of the £26,000 saved by my Lord Peterborough, before he parts with any more money, which puts us into new doubts, and me into a great fear, that all my cake will be dough still. This night, William Hewer is returned from Harwich, where he hath been paying off some ships this fortnight, and went to sea a good way with the fleet, which was 96 in company then, men-of-war, besides some come in, and following them since, which makes now above 100—whom God bless!

28th. Down the river to visit the victualling-ships, where I find all out of order. And come home to dinner, and then to write a letter to the Duke of Albemarle about them, and carried it myself to the Council-chamber; and, when they rose, my Lord Chancellor, passing by, stroked me on the head, and told me that the Board had read my letter, and taken order for the punishing of the watermen for not appearing on board the ships. And so did the King afterwards, who do now know me so well, that he never sees me but he speaks to me about our Navy business.

29th. Troubled in my mind to hear that Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes do take notice that I am now-a-days much from the office upon no office business; but what troubles me more is, that I do omit to write, as I should do, to Mr. Coventry, which I must not do, though this night I minded it so little as to sleep in the middle of my letter to him, and committed forty blots and blurs, but of this I hope never more to be guilty.

30th. (Lord's day.) I with great joy find myself to have gained this month above £100 clear, and in the whole to be worth £1,400. Thus I end this month in great content as to my estate and gettings: in much trouble as to the pains I have taken, and the rubs I expect to meet with, about the business of Tangier. The fleet, with about 106 ships upon the coast of Holland, in sight of the Dutch, within the Texel. Great fears of the sickness here in the City, it being said that two or three houses are already shut up. God preserve us all!

May 1. I met my Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Dean Wilkins, and Mr. Hooke, going by coach to Colonel Blunt's to dinner. So they stopped, and took me with them. No extraordinary dinner, nor any other entertainment good; but afterwards to the trial of some experiments about making of coaches easy. Thence to Deptford, and in to Mr. Evelyn's, which is

stayed not; but Dean Wilkins and Mr. Hooke and I walked to Redriffe; and noble discourse all day long did please me.

3rd. To the inn by Cripplegate, expecting my mother's coming to town, but she is not come this week, the coach being too full. My Lord Chief-Justice Hyde did die suddenly this week, a day or two ago, of an apoplexy.

5th. After dinner, to Mr. Evelyn's; he being at road, we walked in his garden, and a lovely noble ground he hath indeed. And among other rarities, a hive of bees, so as, being hived in glass, you may see the bees making their honey and combs mighty pleasantly. This day, after I had suffered my own hair to grow long, in order to wearing it, I find the convenience of periwigs is so great, that I have cut off all short again, and will keep to periwigs.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church with my wife. Yesterday begun my wife to learn to linn of one Browne, which Mr. Hill helps her to, and by her beginning, upon some eyes, I think she will do very fine things, and I shall take great delight in it.

9th. This day we have news of eight ships being taken by some of ours, going into the Texel—their two man-of-war that convoyed, running in. They came from about Ireland, round to the North.

the Gun-fleet with the fleet presently; which creates us much work and haste therein against the fleet comes. And thence to the Guard in Southwark, there to get some soldiers, by the Duke's order, to go keep pressmen on board our ships.

12th. By water to the Exchequer, and strike my tallies for £17,500, which methinks is so great a testimony of the goodness of God to me, that I, from a mean clerk there, should come to strike tallies myself for that sum, and in the authority that I do now, is a very stupendous mercy to me. But to see how every little fellow looks after his fees, and to get what he can for everything, is a strange consideration. The King's fees that he must pay himself for this £17,500 coming to above £100. After dinner comes my cousin, Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham, to receive some money of my Lord Sandwich's, and then I paid him what was due to him, upon my uncle's score, but, contrary to my expectation, did get him to sign and seal to any sale of lands for payment of debts.

13th. To the 'Change after office, and received my watch from the watch-maker, and a very fine one it is, given me by Briggs, the scrivener. But Lord, to see how much of my old folly and childishness hangs upon me still, that I cannot forbear carrying my watch in my hand in the coach all this afternoon, and seeing what o'clock it is one hundred times, and am apt to

think with myself how could I be so long without one; though I remember since, I had one and found it a trouble, and resolved to carry one no more about me while I lived. Troubled at a letter from Mr. Cholmly from Tangier, wherein he does advise me how people are at work to overthrow our victualling business, by which I shall lose £300 per annum. I am much obliged to him for this secret kindness, and look after this.

14th. (Lord's day.) To church, it being Whit-Sunday; my wife very fine in a new yellow bird's-eye hood, as the fashion is now; my mother having her new suit brought home, which makes her very fine. My wife and she and Mercer to Thomas Pepys's wife's christening of his first child. I took a coach, and to Wanstead, the house where Sir H. Mildmay died, and now Sir Robert Brookes lives, having bought it of the Duke of York, it being forfeited to him: a fine seat, but an old-fashioned house, and being not full of people, looks flatly. I all the afternoon in the coach, reading the treasonous book of the Court of King James, printed a great while ago, and worth reading, though ill intended.

15th. After dinner to the King's playhouse, all alone, and saw, *Love's Mistress*—some pretty things, and good variety in it, but no or little fancy. Letters from Sir G. Downing, of four days' date, that the Dutch are come out and joined, well manned, and

resolved to board our best ships, and fight, for certain, they will.

17th. To Langford's, where I never was since my brother died there. I find my wife and Mercer, having with him agreed upon two rich silk suits for me, which is fit for me to have, but yet the money is too much, I doubt, to lay out altogether; but it is done, and so let it be, it being the expense of the world that I can the best bear with, and the worst spare.

18th. To the duke of Albemarle, where we did examine Nixon and Stanesby, about their late running from two Dutchmen; for which they were committed to a vessel to carry them to the fleet to be tried. A most foul unhandsome thing as ever was heard, for plain cowardice on Nixon's part. Thence with the Duke of Albemarle in his coach to my Lord Treasurer, and there was before the King, who ever now calls me by my name, and Lord Chancellor, and many other great Lords, discoursing about insuring some of the King's goods, wherein the King accepted of my motion that we should; and so away, well pleased.

19th. To the Exchequer, and there got my tallies for £17,500, the first payment I ever had out of the Exchequer, and at the Legg spent 14s. upon my old acquaintance, some of them the clerks, and away home with my tallies in a coach, fearful every moment of having one of them fall out, or snatched from me. Sir W. Warren did give me several good hints and

pillow upon my Treasurership of Tangier, and every great thing in my life, before I resolve anything in it.

21st. (Lord's day.) This day is brought home one of my new silk suits—the plain one, but very rich camelot and noble. Tried it, and pleases me, but did not wear it, being I would not go out to-day to church.

22nd. To Deptford, it being Trinity-Monday, and so the day of choosing the master of Trinity House for the next year, where, to my great content, I find that, contrary to the practice and design of Sir W. Batten, to break the rule and custom of the Company in choosing their masters by succession, he would have brought in Sir W. Rider or Sir W. Pen, over the head of Hurleston, who is a knave, too; besides, I believe, the younger brothers did all oppose it against the elder, and with great heat did carry it for Hurleston, which I know will vex him to the heart. Thence, the election being over, to church, where an idle sermon from that conceited fellow, Dr. Britton, saving that his advice to unity, and laying aside all envy and enmity among them, was very apposite. To the Trinity House, and a great dinner as is usual.

23rd. Late comes Sir Arthur Ingram to my office to tell me, that, by letters from Amsterdam, of the 18th of this month, the Dutch fleet, being about 100 men-of-war, besides fire-ships, &c., did set out upon the 13th and 14th inst. Being divided into seven

squadrons, viz. 1. General Spaulk. 2. Cottanar, of Rotterdam. 3. Trump. 4. Schram, of Horne. 5. Stillingworth, of Freezland. 6. Everson. 7. One other, not named, of Zealand.

24th. To the Coffee House, where all the news is of the Dutch being gone out, and of the plague growing upon us in this town, and of remedies against it: some saying one thing, and some another.

26th. In the evening by water to the Duke of Albemarle, whom I found mightily off the hooks, that the ships are not gone out of the river, which vexed me to see.

28th. (Lord's day.) I hear that Nixon is condemned to be shot to death for his cowardice by a Council of War. To Sir Philip Warwick's to dinner, where abundance of company come in unexpectedly; and here I saw one pretty piece of household stuff, as the company increaseth, to put a larger leaf upon an oval table. After dinner, much good discourse with Sir Philip, who, I find, I think a most pious good man, and a professor of a philosophical manner of life, and principles like Epictetus. Thence to my Lady Sandwich's, where, to my shame, I had not been a great while. Here, upon my telling her a story of my Lord Rochester's running away on Friday night last with Mrs. Mallett, the great beauty and fortune of the North, who had supped at Whitehall with Mrs. Stewart, and was going home to her lodgings with her grandfather, my Lord

by both horse and footmen, and forcibly taken from him, and put into a coach with six horses, and two women provided to receive her, and carried away. Upon immediate pursuit my Lord of Rochester, for whom the King had spoke to the lady often, but with no success, was taken at Uxbridge; but the lady is not yet heard of, and the King mighty angry, and the Lord sent to the Tower. Hereupon my lady did confess to me, as a great secret, her being concerned in this story; for if this match breaks between my Lord Rochester and her, then, by the consent of all her friends, my Lord Hinchinbroke stands fair, and is invited for her. She is worth, and will be at her mother's death, who keeps but a little from her, £2,500 per annum. Pray God give a good success to it! But my poor lady, who is afraid of the sickness, and resolved to be gone into the country, is forced to stay in town a day or two, or three, about it, to see the event of it.

29th. To the Swan, and there drank at Herbert's, and so by coach home—it being kept a great holiday through the city, for the birth and restoration of the King. Home to dinner, and then with my wife, mother, and Mercen, in one boat, and I in another, down to Woolwich. We have everywhere taken some prizes. Our merchants had good luck to come home safe—colliers from the North, and some Streights' men,

just now. And our Hamburg ships, of which we were so much afraid, are safe in Hamburg. Our fleet resolve to sail out again from Harwich in a day or two.

30th. To dinner, to Sir G. Carteret's. Here a very fine, neat, French dinner, without much cost, we being all alone with my lady, and one of the house with her: and then, in the evening, by coach, with my wife, and mother, and Mercer, our usual tour by coach, and at the old house at Islington: but, Lord! to see how my mother found herself talk upon every object to think of old stories.

31st. To the 'Change, where great the noise and trouble of having our Hamburg ships lost; and that very much placed upon Mr. Coventry's forgetting to give notice to them of the going away of our fleet from the coast of Holland. But all without reason, for he did; but the merchants, not being ready, stayed longer than the time ordered for the convoy to stay, which was ten days. To Huysman's, the painter, who, I intend, shall draw my wife. He was not within, but I saw several good pictures.

June 1. After dinner I put on my new camelot suit; the best that ever I wore in my life, the suit costing me above £24. In this I went with Creed to Goldsmith's Hall, to the burial of Sir Thomas Viner; which Hall, and Haberdashers' also, was so full of people, that we were fain for ease and coolness to go

forth to Paternoster Row, to choose a silk to make me a plain ordinary suit. That done, we walked to Cornhill, and there, at Mr. Cade's, stood in the balcony, and saw all the funeral, which was with the blue-coat boys and old men, all the Aldermen, and Lord Mayor, &c., and the number of the company very great: the greatest I ever did see for a tavern.

2nd. Met an express from Sir W. Batten at Harwich, that the fleet is all sailed from Solebay, having spied the Dutch fleet at sea, and that, if the calms hinder not, they must needs now be engaged with them. A letter also came to me from Mr. Hater, committed by the Council this afternoon to the Gate House, upon the misfortune of having his name used by one, without his knowledge or privity, for the receiving of some powder that he had bought. Up to Court about these two, and for the former was led up to my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, where the King, and she, and others were at supper, and there I read the letter and returned: and to Sir G. Carteret about T. Hater, and shall have him released to-morrow upon my giving bail for his appearance. Sir G. Carteret did go on purpose to the King to ask this, and it is granted.

3rd. To Whitehall, and upon entering into recognisances, T. Hater was released. Home, vexed to be kept from the office all the morning, which I had not

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this day, by all people upon the river, and almost everywhere else hereabout, were heard the guns, our two fleets for certain being engaged; which was confirmed by letters from Harwich, but nothing particular; and all our hearts full of concernment for the Duke, and I particularly for my Lord Sandwich and Mr. Coventry, after his Royal Highness.

4th. (Lord's day.) News came that our fleet is pursuing the Dutch, who, either by cunning or by being worsted, do give ground, but nothing more for certain.

5th. Great talk of the Dutch being fled, and we in pursuit of them, and that our ship *Charity* is lost upon our Captain's, Wilkinson, and Lieutenant's yielding, but of this there is no certainty, save the report of some of the sick men of the *Charity*, turned adrift in a boat, and taken up and brought on shore yesterday to Solebay, and the news hereof brought by Sir Henry Felton. Certain news come that our fleet is in sight of the Dutch ships.

6th. To my Lady Sandwich's; who, poor lady, expects every hour to hear of my Lord; but in the best temper, neither confident nor troubled with fear, that I ever did see in my life. She tells me my Lord Rochester is now declaredly out of hopes of Mrs. Mallett, and now she is to receive notice in a day or two how the King stands inclined to the

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after her, and, that being done, to bring it to an end shortly.

7th. This morning my wife and mother rose about two o'clock; and with Mercer, Mary, the boy, and W. Hewer, as they had designed, took boat, and down to refresh themselves on the water to Gravesend. To the Dolphin tavern, where Sir -J. Minnes, Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvey, and myself dined, upon Sir G. Carteret's charge, and very merry we were, Sir Thomas Harvey being very droll. To the New Exchange, and there drunk whey, with much entreaty getting it for our money, and they would not be entreated to let us have one glass more. So took water to Fox-Hall, to the Spring Garden, and there walked an hour or two with great pleasure, saving our minds ill at ease concerning the fleet and my Lord Sandwich: but we have no news of them, and ill reports run up and down of his being killed, but without ground. Here stayed, pleasantly walking, and spending but sixpence till nine at night. The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us!" written there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind, that, to my remembrance, I ever saw.

8th. I to my Lord Treasurer's by appointment of

I met with the great news at last newly come, brought by Bab May from the Duke of York, that we have totally routed the Dutch; that the Duke himself, the Prince, my Lord Sandwich, and Mr. Coventry, are all well; which did put me into such joy, that I forgot almost all other thoughts. With great joy to the Cockpit, where the Duke of Albemarle, like a man out of himself with content, new-told me all; and by-and-by comes a letter from Mr. Coventry's own hand to him, which he never opened, which was a strange thing, but did give it me to open and read, and consider what was fit for our office to do in it, and leave the matter with Sir W. Clerke; which, upon such a time and occasion, was a strange piece of indifference, hardly possible. I copied out the letter, and did also take minutes out of Sir W. Clerke's other letters; and the sum of the news is:—

VICTORY OVER THE DUTCH, JUNE 3, 1665.

This day they engaged: the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerrey, and Mr. Richard Boyle killed on board the Duke's ship, the *Royal Charles*, with one shot: their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say. Earl of Marlborough, Portland, Rear Admiral Sansum, to Prince Rupert, killed, and Captain Kirby and Ableson. Sir John Lawson wounded on

the knee : hath had some bones taken out, and is likely to be well again. Upon receiving the hurt, he sent to the Duke for another to command the *Royal Oak*. The Duke sent Jordan out of the *St. George*, who did brave things to her. Captain Jeremiah Smith, of the *Mary*, was second to the Duke, and stepped between him and Captain Seaton, of the *Urânia*, 76 guns and 400 men, who had sworn to board the Duke ; killed him 200 men, and took the ship ; himself losing 99 men, and never an officer saved, but himself and lieutenant. His master indeed is saved, with his leg cut off. Admiral Opdam blown up, Trump killed, and said by Holmes ; all the rest of their admirals, as they say, but Everson, whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange, are killed : we have taken and sunk, as is believed, about twenty-four of their best ships ; killed and taken near 8,000 or 10,000 men, and lost, we think, not above 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled ; some 43 got into the Texel, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest. Thence, with my heart full of joy, home ; then to my Lady Pen's, where they are all joyed, and not a little puffed up at the good success of their father ; and good service indeed is said to have been done by him. Had a great bonfire at the gate ; and I, with my Lady Pen's people, and others, to Mrs. Turner's great room, and there down into the street. I did give the boys four shillings among

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them, and mighty merry: so home to bed, with my heart at great rest and quiet, saving that the consideration of the victory is too great for me presently to comprehend.

9th. To Whitehall, and in my way met with Mr. Moore, who eases me in one point wherein I was troubled; which was, that I heard of nothing said or done by my Lord Sandwich: but he tells me that Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, did hear the King say that my Lord Sandwich had done nobly and worthily. The King, it seems, is much troubled at the fall of my Lord Falmouth; but I do not meet with any man else that so much as wishes him alive again, the world conceiving him a man of too much pleasure to do the King any good, or offer any good office to him. But I hear, of all hands, he is confessed to be a man of great honour, that did show it in this his going with the Duke, the most that ever any man did. Home, where my people busy to make ready a supper against night for some guests, in lieu of my stone-feasts. With my tailor to buy a silk suit, which though I had one lately, yet I do, for joy of the good news we have lately had of our victory over the Dutch, which makes me willing to spare myself something extraordinary in clothes; and, after long resolution of having nothing but black, I did buy a coloured silk ferrandin.

my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the City, though it hath, these three or four weeks since its beginning, been wholly out of the City; but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr. Burnett, in Fenchurch Street; which, in both points, troubles me mightily.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and expected long a new suit; but coming not, dressed myself in my new black silk camelot suit; and, when fully ready, comes my new one of coloured ferrandin, which my wife puts me out of love with, which vexes me. At noon, by invitation, comes my two cousin Joyces and their wives—my aunt James and he-cousin Harman—his wife being ill. Had a good dinner for them, and as merry as I could be in such company. They being gone, I out of doors a little, to show, forsooth, my new suit. I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great good-will among his neighbours: for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord; which was very handsome.

12th. Up, and in my yesterday's new suit to the Duke of Albemarle, and thence returned; and, with my tailor, bought some good lace for my sleeve bands in Paternoster Row. The Duke of York is sent for last night, and expected to be here to-morrow.

13th. At noon with Sir G. Carteret to my Lord Mayor's to dinner, where much company in a little

room. His name, Sir John Lawrence. Here were at table three Sir Richard Brownes, viz.: he of the Council, a clerk, and the Alderman, and his son; and there was a little grandson, also Richard, who will hereafter be Sir Richard Browne. The alderman did here openly tell in boasting how he had, only upon suspicion of disturbances, if there had been any bad news from sea, clapped up several persons that he was afraid of; and that he had several times done the like, and would do, and take no bail where he saw it unsafe for the King. But by-and-by he said that he was now sued in the Exchequer for false imprisonments, that he had, upon the same score, imprisoned while he was Mayor four years ago, and asked advice about it. I told him I believed there was none, and told my story of Field, at which he was troubled, and said that it was then unsafe for any man to serve the King, and, I believed, knew not what to do therein; but that Sir Richard Browne, of the Council, advised him to speak with my Lord Chancellor about it. My Lord Mayor very respectful to me; and so I after dinner away, and found Sir J. Minnes ready with his coach and four horses at our office gate, for him and me to go out of town to meet the Duke of York coming from Harwich to town, and so far as Ilford, and there light. By-and-by comes to us Sir John Shaw and Mr. Neale, that married the rich widow Gold, upon the same errand. After eating a dish of cream, we took coach again,

hearing nothing of the Duke, and away home—a most pleasant evening and road.

14th. I met with Mr. Cooling, who observed to me how he finds everybody silent in the praise of my Lord Sandwich to set up the Duke and the Prince; but that the Duke did, both to the King and my Lord Chancellor, write abundantly of my Lord's courage and service. And I this day met with a letter of Captain Ferrer's, wherein he tells how my Lord was with his ship in all the heat of the day, and did most worthily. To Westminster, and there saw my Lord Marlborough brought to be buried, several Lords of the Council carrying him, and with the heralds in some state.

15th. Up, and put on my new stuff suit with close knees, which becomes me most nobly, as my wife says. At noon, put on my first laced band, all lace; and to Kate Joyce's to dinner, where my mother, wife, and abundance of their friends, and good usage. At Woolwich, discoursed with Mr. Sheldon about my bringing my wife down for a month or two to his house, which he approves of, and, I think, will be very convenient. This day, the News-book, upon Mr. Moore's showing L'Estrange, Captain Ferrer's letter, did do my Lord Sandwich great right as to the late victory. The Duke of York not yet come to town. The town grows very sickly, and people to be afraid

from 43 the week before; whereof but one in Fenchurch Street, and one in Broad Street, by the Treasurer's office.

16th. After dinner, and doing some business at the office, I to Whitehall, where the Court is full of the Duke and his courtiers returned from sea. I kissed his hands, and we waited all the afternoon. By-and-by saw Mr. Coventry, which rejoiced my very heart. Anon, he and I, from all the rest of the company, walked into the Matted Gallery; where after many expressions of love, we fell to talk of business; among other things, how my Lord Sandwich, both in his councils and personal service, hath done most honourably and serviceably. Sir. J. Lawson is come to Greenwich, but his wound in his knee yet very bad. Jonas Poole, in the *Vanguard*, did basely, so as to be, or will be, turned out of his ship. Captain Holmes expecting, upon Sansum's death, to be made Rear-Admiral to the Prince—but Harman is put in—hath delivered up to the Duke his commission, which the Duke took and tore. He, it seems, had bid the Prince, who first told him of Holmes's intention, that he should dissuade him from it; for that he was resolved to take it if he offered it. Yet Holmes would do it, like a rash, proud coxcomb. But he is rich, and hath, it seems, sought an occasion of leaving the service. Several of our captains have done ill. The great ships are the ships to do the business, they quite

deadening the enemy. They ran away upon sight of the Prince. It is strange to see how people do already slight Sir William Barkeley, my Lord FitzHarding's [Earl of Falmouth's] brother, who, three months since, was the delight of the Court. Captain [Jeremiah] Smith, of the *Mary*, the Duke talks mightily of; and some great thing will be done for him. Strange to hear how the Dutch do relate, as the Duke says, that they are the conquerors; and bonfires are made in Dunkirk in their behalf; though a clearer victory can never be expected. Mr. Coventry thinks they cannot have lost less than 6,000 men, and we not dead above 200, and wounded about 400; in all about 600. Captain Grove, the Duke told us this day hath done the basest thing at Lowestoft, in hearing of the guns, and could not, as others, be got out, but stayed there, for which he will be tried; and is reckoned a prating coxcomb and of no courage.

17th. It struck me very deep this afternoon going with a hackney coach from Lord Treasurer's down Holborn, the coachman I found to drive easily and easily, at last stood still, and came down hardly able to stand, and told me that he was suddenly struck very sick, and almost blind—he could not see; so I alight, and went into another coach, with a sad heart for the poor man and for myself also lest he should have been struck with the plague. Sir John Lawson, I hear,

to-day most kindly. It seems his wound is not very bad; but he hath a fever, a thrush, and a hiccup, all three together, which are, it seems, very bad symptoms.

18th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where Sir W. Pen was the first time since he came from sea after the battle. Mr. Mills made a sorry sermon. Sir W. Batten and my lady are returned from Harwich. I went to see them, and it is pretty to see how we appear kind one to another, though neither of us care twopence for another.

19th. To my little new goldsmith's [Colvill], whose wife, indeed, is one of the prettiest, modest, black women that ever I saw. I paid for a dozen of silver salts, £6 14s. 6d. Thence to see Sir J. Lawson, who is better, but continues ill—his hiccup not being yet gone, could have little discourse with him.

20th. Thanksgiving-day for victory over the Dutch. To the Dolphin Tavern, where all we officers of the Navy met with the Commissioners of the Ordnance by agreement, and dined; where good music at my direction. Our club came to 34s. a man, nine of us. By water to Foxhall, and there walked an hour alone, observing the several humours of the citizens that were there this holiday, pulling off cherries, and God knows what. This day I informed myself that there

number will be fewer in the town than it was the last week. The Dutch are come out again with twenty sail under Bankert; supposed gone to the northward, to meet their East India fleet.

21st. I find our tallies will not be money in less than sixteen months, which is a sad thing for the King to pay all that interest for every penny he spends; and, which is strange, the goldsmiths with whom I spoke do declare that they will not be moved to part with money upon the increase of their consideration of ten per cent., which they have. I find all the town almost going out of town, the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country.

22nd. In great pain whether to send my mother into the country to-day or no; I hearing, by my people, that the poor wretch hath a mind to stay a little longer, and I cannot blame her. At last I resolved to put it to her, and she agreed to go because of the sickness in town and my intentions of removing my wife. She was to the last unwilling to go, but would not say so, but put it off till she lost her place in the coach, and was fain to ride in the waggon part.

23rd. To a Committee for Tangier, where unknown to me, comes my Lord Sandwich, who, it seems, came to town last night. After the Committee was up, my Lord Sandwich did take me aside in the robe-chamber, telling me how much the Duke and Mr. Coventry did.

some opposition to the Prince; and, as a more private passage, he told me that he hath been with them both when they have made sport of the Prince, and laughed at him; yet that all the discourse of the town, and the printed relation, should not give him one word of honour, my Lord thinks very strange; he assuring me, that, though by accident the Prince was in the van in the beginning of the fight for the first pass, yet, all the rest of the day, my Lord was in the van, and continued so. That notwithstanding all this noise of the Prince, he had hardly a shot in his side, nor a man killed, whereas he [Lord Sandwich] above 30 in her hull, and not one mast whole nor yard; but the most battered ship of the fleet, and lost most men, saving Captain Smith of the *Mary*. That the most the Duke did was almost out of gun-shot; but that, indeed, the Duke did come up to my Lord's rescue, after he had a great while fought with four of them. How poorly Sir John Lawson performed, notwithstanding all that was said of him; and how his ship turned out of the way, while Sir John Lawson himself was upon the deck, to the endangering of the whole fleet. It therefore troubles my Lord, that Mr. Coventry should not mention a word of him in his relation. I did, in answer, offer that I was sure the relation was not compiled by Mr. Coventry, but by L'Estrange, out of several letters, as I could witness, and that Mr.

to show my Lord, with which he was something satisfied. From that discourse my Lord did begin to tell me how much he was concerned to dispose of his children, and would have my advice and help; and propounded to match my Lady Jemima to Sir G. Carteret's eldest son, which I approved of, and did undertake the speaking with him about it as from myself, which my Lord liked. To one Mr. Finch, one of the Commissioners of the Excise, to be informed about some things of the Excise, in order to our settling matters therein better. I find him a very discreet, grave person. Home by hackney-coach, which is become a very dangerous passage now-a-days, the sickness increasing mightily.

24th. (Midsummer day.) To Dr. Clerke's, and there I, in the best manner I could, broke my errand about a match between Sir G. Carteret's eldest son and my Lord Sandwich's eldest daughter, which he, as I knew he would, took with great content; and we both agreed that my Lord and he, being both men relating to the sea, under a kind respect of His Majesty, already good friends, and both virtuous and good families, their alliance might be of good use to us; and he did undertake to find out Sir George this morning, and put the business in execution. So I to Whitehall, where I, with Creed and Povy, attended

my Lord Treasurer, and did prevail with him to let us have an assignment for £15,000 or £20,000, which, I hope, will do our business for Tangier. To Sir G. Carteret, and, in the best manner I could, moved the business. He received it with great respect and content, and thanks to me, and promised that he would do what he possibly could for his son, to render him fit for my Lord's daughter, and showed great kindness to me, and sense of my kindness to him herein. Sir William Pen told me this day that Mr. Coventry is to be sworn a Privy Councillor, at which my soul is glad.

25th. (Lord's day.) To Whitehall, where, after I again visited Sir G. Carteret, and received his and now his lady's full content in my proposal, my Lord Sandwich did direct me to return to Sir G. Carteret, and give him thanks for his kind acceptance of this offer, and that he would the next day be willing to enter discourse with him about the business. My Lord, I perceive, intends to give £5,000 with her, and expects about £800 per annum jointure. To Greenwich by water, thinking to have visited Sir J. Lawson, where, when I came, I find that he died this morning, at which I was much surprised, and indeed the nation hath a great loss; though I cannot, without dissembling, say that I am sorry for it, for he was a man never kind to me at all. Mr. Coventry, among

which the whole House is divided. He did concur with me that, for the Duke's honour and safety, it were best, after so great a service and victory and danger, not to go again; and, above all, that the life of the Duke cannot but be a security to the Crown; if he were away, it being more easy to attempt anything upon the King. But how the fleet will be governed without him, the Prince [Rupert] being a man of no government, and severe in council, that no ordinary man can offer any advice against his—saying, truly, that it had been better he had gone to Guinny; and that, were he away, it were easy to see how things might be ordered—my Lord Sandwich being a man of temper and judgment, as much as any man he ever knew, and that upon good observation he said this, and that his temper must correct the Prince's. But I perceive he is much troubled what will be the event of the question.

26th. To the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Treasurer was, the first and only time he ever was there, and did promise us £15,000 for Tangier, and no more, which will be short. With Creed to the "King's Head" ordinary, and good sport with one Mr. Nicholls, a prating coxcomb, that would be thought a poet, but would not be got to repeat any of his verses.

for a living, and, upon his good promises of care, and that it should be no burden to me, I did say and promise I would think of finding something for him, and the rather because his wife seems a pretty discreet young thing, and humble; and he, above all things, desirous to do something to maintain her, telling me sad stories of what she endured in Holland; and I hope it will not be burdensome. The plague increases mightily, I this day seeing a house, at a bit-maker's, over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up, which is a sad sight.

28th. I did take my leave of Sir William Coventry, who, it seems, was knighted, and sworn a Privy Councillor two days since: who with his old kindness treated me, and I believe I shall ever find him a noble friend. In my way to Westminster Hall, I observed several plague-houses in King's Street and near the Palace.

29th. By water to Whitehall, where the Court full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267, which is about ninety more than the last; and of these but four in the City, which is a great blessing to us. Took leave again of Mr. Coventry, though I hope the Duke is not gone to stay, and so do others too. Home, calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up too. The Queen-mother setting out for France this

consumption; and intends not to come till winter come twelvemonths.

30th. To Whitehall, to the Duke of Albemarle, who, I find at Secretary Bennet's, there being now no other great statesman, I think, but my Lord Chancellor, in town. At night, back by water, and in the dark and against the tide shot the bridge, groping with their pole for the way, which troubled me before I got through. So home about one or two o'clock in the morning, my family at a great loss what was become of me. Thus this book of two years ends. Myself and family in good health, consisting of myself and wife, Mercer, her woman, Mary, Alice, and Susan, our maids, and Tom, my boy. In a sickly time of the plague growing on; having upon my hands the troublesome care of the Treasury of Tangier, with great sums drawn upon me, and nothing to pay them with; also the business of the office great. Considering of removing my wife to Woolwich; she lately busy in learning to paint, with great pleasure and success. All other things well; especially a new interest I am making, by a match in hand between the eldest son of Sir G. Carteret, and my Lady Jemima Montagu. The Duke of York gone down to the fleet; but all suppose not with intent to stay there, as it is not fit, all men conceive he should.

July 1. To Westminster, where I hear the sickness

plague.

2nd. Lord's day.) Sir G. Carteret did send me word that the business between my Lord and him is fully agreed on, and is mightily liked of the King and the Duke of York. Sir J. Lawson was buried late last night at St. Dunstan's by us, without any company at all. The condition of his family is but very poor.

3rd. The season growing so sickly, that it is much to be feared how a man can escape having a share with others in it, for which the good Lord God bless me! or make me fitted to receive it.

4th. I hear this day the Duke and Prince Rupert are both come back from sea, and neither of them go back again. Bankert is come home with the little fleet he has been abroad with, without doing anything, so that there is nobody of an enemy at sea. We are in great hopes of meeting with the Dutch East India fleet, which is mighty rich, or with De Ruyter, who is so also. Sir Richard Ford told me this day at table, a fine account, how the Dutch were like to have been mastered by the present Prince of Orange his father to be besieged in Amsterdam—having drawn an army of foot into the town, and horse near to the town by night, within three miles, and they never knew of it: but by chance the Hamburg post in the night fell among the horse, and heard their design, and knowing the way, it

them, and did give notice to the town before the attack could reach the town, and so were saved. It seems this De Witt and another family, the Beckarts, were among the chief of the families that were enemies to the Prince, and were afterwards suppressed by the Prince, and continued so till he was, as they say, poisoned; and then they turned all again, as it were, against the young Prince, and have so carried it to this day, it being about 12 and 14 years, and De Witt at the head of them.

5th. Mr. Coventry tells me how matters are ordered in the fleet: my Lord Sandwich goes Admiral; under him, Sir G. Ascue and Sir T. Teddiman: Vice-Admiral, Sir W. Pen; and under him, Sir W. Barkeley and Sir Jos. Jordan: Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Allen; and under him, Sir Christopher Mings and Captain Harman. Walked round to Whitehall, the Park being quite locked up; and I observed a house shut up this day in the Pall Mall, where heretofore, in Cromwell's time, we young men used to keep our weekly clubs. Sir G. Carteret do now take all my Lord Sandwich's business to heart, and makes it the same with his own. He tells me how at Chatham it was proposed to my Lord Sandwich to be joined with the Prince in the command of the fleet, which he was most willing to; but, when it came to the Prince, he was quite against it, saying, there could be no government, but that it would be better to have two fleets, and neither under

unkindness, did order the fleet to be ordered as above, as to the Admirals and commands: so the Prince is come up; and Sir G. Carteret, I remember, had this word thence, that, says he, by this means, though the King told him that it would be but for this expedition, yet I believe we shall keep him out for altogether. He tells me how my Lord was much troubled at Sir W. Pen's being ordered forth, as it seems he is to go to Solebay, and with the best fleet he can, to go forth, and no notice taken of my Lord Sandwich going after him, and having the command over him. By water to Woolwich, where I found my wife come, and her two maids, and very prettily accommodated they will be; and I left them going to supper, grieved in my heart to part with my wife, being worse by much without her, though some trouble there is in having the care of a family at home this plague time.

6th. Alderman Backewell is ordered abroad upon some private score with a great sum of money; whereip I was instrumental the other day in shipping him away. It seems some of his creditors have taken notice of it, and he was like to be broke yesterday in his absence: Sir G. Carteret telling me that the King and the kingdom must as good as fall with that man at this time; and that he was forced to get £4,000 himself to answer Backewell's people's occasions, or he must have broke;

the two great houses within two doors of him being shut up: and, Lord! the number of houses visited, which this day I observed through the town, quite round in my way, by Long Lane and London Wall. To Sir W. Batten, and spent the evening at supper: and, among other discourse, the rashness of Sir John Lawson for breeding up his daughter so high and proud, refusing a man of great interest, Sir W. Berkeley, to match her with a melancholy fellow, Colonel Norton's son, of no interest nor good-nature nor generosity at all, giving her £6,000, when the other would have taken her with two—when he himself knew that he was not worth the money himself in all the world, he did give her that portion, and is since dead, and left his wife and two daughters beggars, and the other gone away with £6,000, and no content in it, through the ill qualities of her father-in-law and husband, who, it seems, though a pretty woman, contracted for her as if he had been buying a horse; and, worst of all, is now of no use to serve the mother and two little sisters in any stead at Court, whereas the other might have done what he would for her: so here is an end of this family's pride, which, with good care, might have been what they would, and done well. Sir W. Pen, it seems, sailed last night from Solebay with about sixty sail of ships, and my Lord Sandwich

them to overtake them.

7th. At this time I have two tierces of claret, two quarter casks of canary, and a smaller vessel of sack; a vessel of tent, another of Malaga, and another of white wine, all in my wine-cellar together; which, I believe, none of my friends of my name now alive ever had of his own at one time.

9th. (Lord's day.) To Sir G. Carteret, and there find my lady in her chamber, not very well, but looks the worst almost that ever I did see her in my life. It seems her drinking of the water at Tunbridge did almost kill her. Received with most extraordinary kindness by my Lady Carteret and her children, and dined most nobly. Took boat and home, and there shifted myself into my black silk suit; and, having promised Harman yesterday, I to his house, which I find very mean, and mean company. His wife very ill: I could not see her. Here I, with her father and Kate Joyce, who was also very ill, were godfathers and godmothers to his boy, and was christened Will. Mr. Meriton christened him. The most observable thing I found there to my content, was to hear him and his clerk tell me, that in this parish of Michell's Cornhill, one of the middlemost parishes, and a great one of the town, there hath, notwithstanding this sickliness, been buried of any disease, man, woman, or child, not one for thirteen months last past, which is very strange;

I hear, saving only of the plague in them. It is mighty pretty to think how my poor Lady Sandwich, between her and me, is doubtful whether her daughter will like of the match or no, and how troubled she is for fear of it, which I do not fear at all, and desire her not to do it, but her fear is the most discreet and pretty that ever I did see.

10th. Having a coach of Mr. Povy's attending me, by appoinment, in order to my coming to dine at his country-house, at Branford, where he and his family is, I went, and Mr. Tasbrough with me therein, it being a pretty chariot, but most inconvenient as to the horses throwing dust and dirt into one's eyes and upon one's clothes. Creed rode before, and Mr. Povy and I after him in the chariot; and I was set down by him at the Park pale, where one of his saddle horses was ready for me, he himself not daring to come into the house or be seen, because that a servant of his out of his house, happened to be sick, but is not yet dead, but was never suffered to come into his house after he was ill. But this opportunity was taken to injure Povy, and most horribly he is abused by some persons here-upon, and his fortune, I believe, quite broke; but that he hath a good heart to bear, or a cunning one to conceal his evil. It is, I perceive, an unpleasant thing to be at Court, everybody being fearful one of another, and all so sad inquiring after the plague, so that I stole

trouble, was forced to press two sturdy rogues to carry me to London, and met at the water-side with Mr. Charnock, Sir Philip Warwick's clerk, who had been with company, and was quite foxed. I took him with me in my boat, and so away to Richmond, and there by night walked with him to Mortlake, a very pretty walk, and there stayed a good while.

11th. All night down by water, a most pleasant passage, and came thither by two o'clock, and so walked from the Old Swan home, and there to bed to my Will—he lodging at my desire in my house.

12th. After doing what business I could in the morning, it being a solemn fast-day for the plague growing upon us, I took boat, and down to Deptford, where I stood with great pleasure an hour or two by my Lady Sandwich's bedside, talking to her, she lying prettily in bed, of my Lady Jemima's being from my Lady Pickering's when our letters came to that place; she being at my Lord Montagu's at Boughton. The truth is, I had received letters of it two days ago, but had dropped them, and was in a very extraordinary strait what to do for them, or what account to give my lady: but sent to Mortlake, where I had been the night before, and there they were found, which with mighty joy came safe to me; but all ending with satisfaction to my lady and me, though I find my Lady Carteret not much pleased with this delay, and

staying prating to and with my lady; and, from before one, made it seven before we got to Hampton Court; and, when I came there, all business was over, saving my finding Mr. Coventry at his chamber; and so away to my boat, and all night upon the water, and came home by two o'clock, shooting the bridge at that time of night. Heard Mr. Williamson repeat at Hampton Court, to-day, how the King of France hath lately set out a most high arrest against the Pope, which is reckoned very lofty and high.

13th. By water at night late to Sir G. Carteret's, but there being no oars to carry me, I was fain to call a sculler that had a gentleman already in it, and he proved a man of love to music, and he and I sung together the way down with great pleasure. Above 700 died of the plague this week,

14th. I by water to Sir G. Carteret's and there find my Lady Sandwich buying things for my Lady Jem.'s wedding: and my Lady Jem. is, beyond expectation, come to Dagenhams, where Mr. Carteret is to go to visit her to-morrow; and my proposal of waiting on him, he being to go alone to all persons strangers to him, was well accepted, and so I go with him. But,

things of all sorts most richly for her, which makes my lady and me out of our wits almost to see the kindness she treats us all with, as if they would buy the young lady.

15th. Mr. Carteret and I to the ferry-place at Greenwich, and there stayed an hour crossing the water to and again to get our coach and horses over; and by-and-by set out, and so toward Dagenhams. Thither we come, and by that time it began to get dark, and were kindly received by Lady Wright and my Lord Crewe. And to discourse they went, my Lord discoursing with him, asking of him questions of travel, which he answered well enough in a few words; but nothing to the lady from him at all. To supper, and after supper to talk again, he yet taking no notice of the lady. My Lord would have had me have consented to leaving the young people together to-night, to begin their amours, his staying being but to be little. But I advised against it, lest the lady might be too much surprised. So they led him up to his chamber, where I stayed a little, to know how he liked the lady, which he told me he did mightily: but Lord! in the dullest insipid manner that ever lover did. So I bade him good night, and down to prayers with my Lord Crewe's family; and after prayers, my Lord and Lady Wright and I to consult what to do; and it was agreed at last

do, though the address was a great objection against it. But at last my Lady Jem. sent me word by my Lady Wright, that it would be better to do just as they used to do before his coming; and therefore she desired to go to church, which was yielded to them.

16th. (Lord's day.) I up, having lain with Mr. Moore in the chaplain's chamber. And having trimmed myself, down to Mr. Carteret; and we walked in the gallery an hour or two, it being a most noble and pretty house that ever, for the bigness, I saw. Here I taught him what to do: to take the lady always by the hand to lead her, and telling him that I would find opportunity to leave them together, he should make these and these compliments, and also take a time to do the like to Lord Crewe and Lady Wright. After I had instructed him, which he thanked me for, owning that he needed my teaching him, my Lord Crewe came down and family, the young lady among the rest; and so by coaches to church four miles off; where a pretty good sermon and a declaration of penitence of a man that had undergone the Church's censure for his wicked life. Thence back again by coach, Mr. Carteret having not had the confidence to take his lady once by the hand, coming or going, which I told him of when we came home, and he will hereafter do it. So to dinner. My Lord excellent discourse. Then to walk in the gallery, and to

my Lady Crewe came out, and left the young people together. And a little pretty daughter of my Lady Wright's most innocently came out afterwards and shut the door to, as if she had done it, poor child, by inspiration: which made us without have good sport to laugh at. They together an hour, and by-and-by church time, whither he led her into the coach and into the church, where several handsome ladies. But it was most extraordinary hot that ever I knew it. So home again, and to walk in the gardens, where we left the young couple a second time; and my Lady Wright and I to walk together, who tells me that some new clothes must of necessity be made for Lady Jemima, which and other things I took care of. Anon to supper, and excellent discourse and dispute between my Lord Crewe and the chaplain, who is a good scholar, but a Nonconformist. Here this evening I spoke with Mrs. Carter, my old acquaintance, that hath lived with my lady these twelve or thirteen years, the sum of all whose discourse and others for her is, that I would get her a good husband; which I have promised, but know not when I shall perform.

17th. Up all of us, and to billiards; my Lady Wright, Mr. Carteret, myself, and everybody. By-and-by, the young couple left together. Anon to dinner; and after dinner Mr. Carteret took my advice

which he did, by leaving it to the chief man-servant, Mr. Medows, to do for him. Before we went I took my Lady Jem. apart, and would know how she liked this gentleman, and whether she was under any difficulty concerning him. She blushed, and hid her face awhile; but at last I forced her to tell me. She answered that she could readily obey what her father and mother had done; which was all she could say, or I expect. But, Lord! to see among other things, how all these great people here are afraid of London, being doubtful of anything that comes from thence, or that hath lately been there, that I was forced to say that I lived wholly at Woolwich. So anon took leave, and for London. In our way Mr. Carteret did give me mighty thanks for my care and pains for him, and is mightily pleased, though the truth is, my Lady Jem. hath carried herself with mighty discretion and gravity, not being forward at all in any degree, but mighty serious in her answers to him, as by what he says and I observed, I collect. To Deptford, where mighty welcome, and brought the good news of all being pleased. Mighty mirth of my giving them an account of all; but the young man could not be got to say one word before me or my Lady Sandwich of his adventures; but, by what he afterwards related to his father and mother and sisters, he gives an account that pleases them mightily. Here Sir G. Carteret would have

kind to me, leading me to my chamber; and all their care now is to have the business ended; and they have reason, because the sickness puts all out of order, and they cannot safely stay where they are.

18th. To the 'Change, where a little business, and a very thin Exchange; and so walked through London to the Temple, where I took water for Westminster to the Duke of Albemarle, to wait on him, and so to Westminster Hall, and there paid for my news-books, and did give Mrs. Michell, who is going out of town because of the sickness, and her husband, a pint of wine. I was much troubled this day to hear at Westminster how the officers do bury the dead in the open Tuttle fields, pretending want of room elsewhere; whereas the New Chapel church-yard was walled in at the public charge in the last plague time, merely for want of room; and now none, but such as are able to pay dear for it can be buried there.

19th. To Deptford, where I find all full of joy, and preparing to go to Dagenhams to-morrow.

20th. To Deptford, and after dinner saw my Lady Sandwich and Mr. Carteret and his two sisters over the water, going to Dagenhams, and my Lady Carteret toward Cranburne. Walked to Redriffe, where I hear the sickness is, and indeed is scattered almost everywhere, there dying 1,089 of the plague this week. My

water home with me. I received yesterday a letter from my Lord Sandwich, giving me thanks for my care about their marriage business, and desiring it to be dispatched, that no disappointment may happen therein. Lord! to see how the plague spreads! it being now all over King's Street, at the Axe, and next door to it, and in other places.

21st. To Anthony Joyce's, and there broke to him my desire to have Pall married to Harman, whose wife, poor woman, is lately dead, to my trouble, I loving her very much, and he will consider it. Late in my chamber, setting some papers in order; the plague growing very raging, and my apprehensions of it great.

22nd. The Duke of Albemarle being gone to dinner to my Lord of Canterbury's, I thither, and there walked and viewed the new hall, a new old-fashioned hall, as much as possible—begun, and means left for the ending of it by Bishop Juxon. To Fox-hall, where to the Spring Garden; but I do not see one guest there, the town being so empty of anybody to come thither. Only, while I was there, a poor woman came to scold with the master of the house that a kinswoman, I think, of hers that was nearly dead of the plague, might be buried in the churchyard; for, for her part, she should not be buried in the commons, as they said she should. I by coach home, not meeting

with but two coaches and but two carts from Whitehall to my own house, that I could observe, and the streets mighty thin of people. I met this noon with Dr. Burnett, who told me, and I find in the news book this week that he posted upon the 'Change, that whoever did spread the report that, instead of dying of the plague, his servant was by him killed, it was forgery, and showed me the acknowledgment of the master of the pest-house, and that his servant died of a bubo on his right groin, and two spots on his right thigh, which is the plague. All the news is great: that we must of necessity fall out with France, for he will side with the Dutch against us. That Alderman Backewell is gone over, which indeed he is, with money, and that Ostend is in our present possession. But it is strange to see how poor Alderman Backewell is like to be put to it in his absence, Mr. Shaw, his right hand, being ill. And the Alderman's absence gives doubts to people, and I perceive they are in great straits for money, besides what Sir G. Carteret told me about fourteen days ago. Our fleet, under my Lord Sandwich, being about the latitude $55\frac{1}{2}$, which is a great secret, to the northward of the Texel.

23rd. (Lord's day.) Called by Mr. Cutler, by appointment, and with him, in his coach and four horses, over London Bridge to Kingston, a very pleasant journey. and to Hampton Court, where I followed the King to

sermon with my Lord Arlington, Sir Thomas Ingram, and others ; spoke to the Duke about Tangier, but not to much purpose. I was not invited anywhere to dinner, though a stranger, which did also trouble me ; but yet I must remember it is a Court, and indeed where most are strangers ; but, however, Cutler carried me to Mr. Marriott's, the housekeeper, and there we had a very good dinner and good company, among others Lilly, the painter. Thence to the council-chamber, but the council began late to sit ; so that when I got free, and came back to look for Cutler, he was gone with his coach, without leaving any word with anybody to tell me so ; so that I was forced with great trouble to walk up and down, looking for him, and at last forced to get a boat to carry me to Kingston, and there, after eating a bit at a neat inn, which pleased me well, I took boat, and slept all the way, without intermission, from thence to Queenhithe, where, it being about two o'clock, too late and too soon to go home to bed, I lay and slept till about four.

24th. Up and home, and there dressed myself, and by appointment to Deptford, to Sir G. Carteret's, between six and seven o'clock, where I found him and my lady almost ready, and by-and-by went over to the ferry, and took coach and six horses nobly for Dagenhams, himself and lady, and their little daughter Louisaune and myself in the coach, where, when we

most pleasantly with the young ladies, and I so merry as never before. With great content all the day, as I think I ever passed a day in my life, because of the contentfulness of our errand, and the nobleness of the company, and our manner of going. But I find Mr. Carteret as backward almost in his caresses as he was the first day. At night, about seven o'clock, took coach again; but, Lord! to see in what a pleasant humour Sir G. Carteret hath been both coming and going—so light, so fond, so merry, so boyish, so much content he takes in this business—it is one of the greatest wonders I ever saw in my mind. In serious discourse he did say that if he knew his son to be a debauchee, as many and most are nowadays about the Court, he would tell it, and my Lady Jem. should not have him; and so enlarged both he and she about the baseness and looseness of the Court, and told several stories of the Duke of Monmouth, and Richmond, and some great person, my Lord of Ormond's second son, married to a lady of extraordinary quality, fit, and that might have been made a wife, for the King himself about six months since; and discoursed how much this would oblige the kingdom, if the King would banish some of these great persons publicly from the Court. We set out so late, that it grew dark, so as we doubted the losing of our way: and a long time it was,

merry, we found no ferry-boat was there, nor no oars to carry us to Deptford. However, afterwards oars was called from the other side at Greenwich; but, when it came, a frolic, being mighty merry, took us, and there we would sleep all night in the coach in the Isle of Dogs: so we did, there being now with us my Lady Scott; and with great pleasure drew up the glasses, and slept till daylight, and then some victuals and wine being brought us, we ate a bit, and so up and took boat, merry as might be; and, when come to Sir G. Carteret's, there all to bed.

25th. Our good humour in everybody continuing, I slept till seven o'clock. Sad the story of the plague in the City, it growing mightily. This day came a letter to me from Paris, from my Lord Hinchinbroke, about his coming over; and I have sent this night an order from the Duke of Albemarle for a ship of thirty-six guns to go to Calais to fetch him.

26th. To Greenwich, to the Park, where I heard the King and Duke are come by water this morning from Hampton Court. They asked me several questions. The King mightily pleased with his new buildings there. I followed them to Castle's ship, in building, and there met Sir W. Batten, and thence to Sir G. Carteret's, where all the morning with them; they not having any but the Duke of Monmouth and Sir W. Killigrew, and one gentleman and a

dinner, and all to dinner and sat down to the King, saving myself, which, though I could not in modesty expect, yet, God forgive my pride! I was sorry I was there, that Sir W. Batten should say that he could sit down where I could not. The King having dined, he came down, and I went in the barge with him, I sitting at the door. Down to Woolwich, and there I just saw and kissed my wife, and saw some of her painting, which is very curious; and away again to the King, and back again with him in the barge, hearing him and the Duke talk, and seeing and observing their manner of discourse. And, God forgive me! though I admire them with all the duty possible, yet the more a man considers and observes them, the less he finds of difference between them and other men, though, blessed be God! they are both princes of great nobleness and spirits. The Duke of Monmouth is the most skittish leaping gallant that ever I saw, always in action, vaulting or leaping, or clambering. Sad news of the death of so many in the parish of the plague, forty last night. The bell always going. To the Exchange, where I went up and sat talking with my beauty, Mrs. Batelier, a great while, who is indeed one of the finest women I ever saw in my life. The sickness has got into our parish this week, and is got, indeed, everywhere; so that I begin to think of setting things in order, which I pray God enable me to put, both as to soul and body.

27th. With Mr. Gauden to Hampton Court, where I saw the King and Queen set out towards Salisbury, and after them the Duke and Duchess, whose hands I did kiss. And it was the first time I did ever, or did see anybody else, kiss her hand, and it was a most fine white and fat hand. But it was pretty to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, caps with ribbons, and with laced bands, just like men. Only the Duchess herself it did not become. They gone, we with great content took coach again; and, hungry, come to Clapham about one o'clock, and Creed there, too, before us, where a good dinner, the house having dined, and so to walk up and down in the gardens, mighty pleasant. By-and-by comes, by promise to me, Sir G. Carteret, and viewed the house above and below, and sat and drank there, and I had a little opportunity to kiss and spend some time with the ladies above—his daughter, a buxom lass. and his sister Fissant, a serious lady, and a little daughter of hers, that begins to sing prettily. Thence, with mighty pleasure, with Sir G. Carteret by coach, with great discourse of kindness with him to my Lord Sandwich, and to me also; and I every day see more good by the alliance—to Half-way House, and so home, in my way being shown my cousin Patience's house, which seems, at distance, a pretty house. At home met the weekly bill, where above 100 increased

tion what to do.

28th. Set out with my Lady Sandwich all alone with her with six horses to Dagenhams ; going by water to the Ferry. And a pleasant going, and a good discourse ; and, when there, very merry, and the young couple now well acquainted. But, Lord ! to see in what fear all the people here do live. How they are afraid of us that come to them, insomuch that I am troubled at it, and wish myself away. But some cause they have ; for the chaplain, with whom, but a week or two ago, we were here mighty high disputing, is since fallen into a fever, and dead, being gone hence to a friend's a good way off : a sober and a healthful man. These considerations make us all hasten the marriage, and resolve it upon Monday next, which is three days before we intended it.

29th. Up betimes, and, after viewing some of my wife's pictures, which now she is come to do very finely, to the office. At noon to dinner, where I hear that my Will is come in thither, and laid down upon my bed, ill of the headache, which put me into extraordinary fear ; and I studied all I could to get him out of the house, and set my people to work to do it without discouraging him, and myself went forth to the Old Exchange to pay my fair Batelier for some linen, and took leave of her, they breaking up shop for a

her husband to let her go down to Brampton, but I could not prevail with him; he urging some simple reasons, but most that of profit, minding the house, and the distance, if either of them should be ill. However, I did my best, and more than I had a mind to do, but that I saw him so resolved against it, while she was mightily troubled at it. At last he yielded she should go to Windsor, to some friends there; so I took my leave of them, believing it is great odds that we ever all see one another again; for I dare not go any more to that end of the town. Will is gone to his lodging, and is likely to do well, it being only the headache.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up, and in my night-gown, cap, and neck-cloth, undressed all day long—lost not a minute, but in my chamber, setting my Tangier accounts to rights. Will is very well again. It was a sad noise to hear our bell to toll and ring so often to-day, either for deaths or burials, I think, five or six times.

31st. Up, and very betimes by six o'clock at Deptford, and there find Sir G. Carteret and my Lady ready to go; I being in my new-coloured silk suit, and coat trimmed with gold buttons and gold broad lace round my hands, very rich and fine. By water to the Ferry, where, when we came, no coach there, and tide

So we were fain to stay there in the unlucky Isle of Dogs, in a chill place, the morning cool and wind fresh, above two, if not three hours, to our great discontent. Yet, being upon a pleasant errand, and seeing that it could not be helped, we did bear it very patiently; and it was worth my observing to see how, upon these two scores, Sir G. Carteret, the most passionate man in the world, and that was in greatest haste to be gone, did bear with it, and very pleasant all the while, at least, not troubled so much as to fret and storm at it. Anon the coach comes. In the meantime there coming a news thither with his horse to go over, and told us he did come from Islington this morning, and that Proctor, the vintner of the Mitre in Wood Street, and his son, are dead this morning there of the plague; he having laid out abundance of money there, and was the greatest vintner for some time in London for great entertainments. We, fearing the canonical hour would be past before, we got thither, did, with a great deal of unwillingness, send away the licence and wedding-ring; so that when we came, though we drove hard with six horses, yet we found them gone from home, and going towards the church, met them coming from church, which troubled us. But, however, that trouble was soon over, hearing it was well done; they being both in

their old clothes, my Lord Crewe giving her, there being three coachfuls of them. The young lady mighty sad, which troubled me; but yet I think it was only her gravity in a little greater degree than usual. All saluted her, but I did not, till my Lady Sandwich did ask me whether I saluted her or no. So to dinner, and very merry we were, but in such a sober way as never almost anything was in so great families, but it was much better. After dinner company divided, some to cards, others to talk. My Lady Sandwich and I up to settle accounts and pay her some money. And mighty kind she is to me, and would fain have had me gone down for company with her to Hinchingbroke; but for my life I cannot. At night to supper, and so to talk; and which, methought, was the most extraordinary thing, all of us to prayers as usual, and the young bride and bridegroom too; and so after prayers soberly to bed. Whereas I feared we must have sat up all night, we did here all get good beds, and I lay in the same I did before, with Mr. Brisband, who is a good scholar and sober man; and we lay in bed, getting him to give me an account of Rome, which is the most delightful talk a man can have of any traveller, and so to sleep. Thus I ended this month with the greatest joy that ever I did any in my life, because I have spent the greatest part of it with abundance of joy, and honour, and pleasant

of money, and at last live to see the business ended with great content on all sides. This evening with Mr. Brisband, speaking of enchantments and spells, I telling him some of my charms; he told me this, of his own knowledge, at Bordeaux in France. The words were these:—

6.

“Voici un corps mort,
Roide comme un bâton,
Froid comme marbre,
Leger comme un esprit,
Levons le au nom de Jésus Christ.”

He saw four little girls, very young ones, all kneeling, each of them upon one knee; and one began the first line, whispering in the ear of the next, and the second to the third, and the third to the fourth, and she to the first. Then the first began the second line, and so round quite through, and putting each one finger only to a boy that lay flat upon his back upon the ground, as if he was dead. At the end of the words they did, with their four fingers, raise this boy as high as they could reach; and Mr. Brisband being there and wondering at it, as also being afraid to see it, for they would have had him to have bore a part in saying the words in the room of one of the little girls that was so young that they could hardly make her learn to repeat the words, did, for fear there might be some slight used in it by the boy, or that the boy might be light, call the cock of the house a very lusty fellow, as Sir

G. Carteret's cook, who is very big—and they did raise him just in the same manner. 'This is one of the strangest things I ever heard, but he tells it me of his own knowledge, and I do heartily believe it to be true. I inquired of him whether they were Protestant or Catholic girls, and he told me they were Protestant, which made it the more strange to me. Thus we end this month, as I said, after the greatest glut of content that ever I had, only under some difficulty because of the plague, which grows mightily upon us, the last week being about 1,700 or 1,800 of the plague. My Lord Sandwich at sea with a fleet of about one hundred sail, to the northward, expecting De Ruyter or the Dutch East India fleet. My Lord Hinchinbroke coming over from France, and will meet his sister at Scott's Hall. Myself having obliged both these families in this business very much, as both my lady and Sir G. Carteret and his lady do confess exceedingly, and the latter do also now call me cousin, which I am glad of. So God preserve us all friends long, and continue health among us!

August 1. Lay long; then up, and my Lord Crewe and Sir G. Carteret being gone abroad, I first to see the bridegroom and bride, and found them both up, and he gone to dress himself. Thence down, and Mr. Brisband and I to billiards. Anon came my Lord and Sir G. Carteret in, who have been looking abroad and

abouts, and among other things, report the greatest stories of the bigness of the calves they find there, ready to sell to the butchers—as big, they say, as little cows, and that they do give them a piece of chalk to lick, which they hold makes them white in the flesh within. About five o'clock Sir G. Carteret and his lady and I took coach with the greatest joy, drove hard, and it was night ere we got to Deptford, where, with much kindness from them to me, I left them, and home to the office, where I find all well.

2nd. Up, it being a public fast, as being the first Wednesday of the month, for the plague; within doors all day, and upon my monthly accounts late. I did find myself really worth £1,900, for which the great God of heaven and earth be praised!

3rd. Up, and betimes to Deptford to Sir G. Carteret's, where, not knowing the horse which had been hired by Mr. Unthwayt for me, I did desire Sir G. Carteret to let me ride his new £40 horse, and so to the ferry, where I was forced to stay a great while before I could get my horse brought over, and then mounted and rode very finely to Dagenhams; all the way people, citizens, walking to and fro, inquire how the plague is in the City this week by the bill, which by chance at Greenwich I had heard was 2,020 of the plague, and 3,000 and odd of all diseases; but methought it was a sad question to be so often asked me.

coming out of the house, having stayed as long as they could for me. So I let them go a little way before, and went and took leave of my Lady Sandwich, good woman, who seems very sensible of my service in this late business, and having her directions in some things; among others to get Sir G. Carterot and my Lord to settle the portion, and what Sir G. Carterot is to settle, into land soon as may be, she not liking it should lie long undone for fear of death on either side. So took leave of her, and down to the buttry and ate a piece of cold venison pie and drank, and took some bread and cheese in my hand, and so mounted after them, Mr. Marr very kindly staying to lead me the way. By-and-by met my Lord Crewe returning; Mr. Marr telling me by the way how a maid-servant of Mr. John Wright's, who lives thereabouts, falling sick of the plague, she was removed to an out-house, and a nurse appointed to look to her; who being once absent the maid got out of the house at the window and ran away. The nurse coming and knocking, and having no answer, believed she was dead, and went and told Mr. Wright so, who and his lady were in a great strait what to do to get her buried. At last resolved to go to Brentwood, hard by, being in the parish, and there get people to do it. But they would not; so he went home full of trouble, and in the way met the wench walking over the common, which frightened him worse than before, and was forced to

send people to take her, which he did, and they got one of the pest-coaches, and put her into it to carry her to a pest-house. And passing in a narrow lane, Sir Anthony Browne, with his brother and some friends in the coach, met this coach with the curtains drawn close. The brother being a young man, and believing there might be some lady in it that would not be seen, and the way being narrow, he thrust his head out of his own into her coach and to look, and there saw somebody looking very ill, and in a silk dress, and stunk mightily, which the coachman also cried out upon. And presently they came up to some people that stood looking after it, and told our gallants that it was a maid of Mr. Wright's carried away sick of the plague; which put the young gentleman into a fright had almost cost him his life, but is now well again. I, overtaking our young people, alight and into the coach to them, where mighty merry all the way; and anon came to the Blockhouse, over against Gravesend, where we stayed a great while in a little drinking-house. Sent back our coaches to Dagenhams. I by-and-by by boat to Gravesend, where no news of

sea, and will do it. And some others did it for ten shillings. By-and-by comes Sir G. Carteret, and so we set out for Chatham, in my way overtaking some company, wherein was a lady, very pretty, riding singly, her husband in company with her. By-and-by he and I fell into acquaintance, having known me formerly at the Exchequer. His name is Nokes, over against Bow Church. He was servant to Alderman Dashwood. We promised to meet if ever we came both to London again, and at parting I had a fair salute on horseback in Rochester streets, of the lady. My Lady Carteret came to Chatham in a coach by herself before us. Great mind they have to buy a little hackney, that I rode on from Greenwich, for a woman's horse.

4th. Up by five o'clock, and by six walked out alone, with my Lady Slaning, to the Dock Yard, where walked up and down, and so to Mr. Pett's, who led us into his garden, and there the lady, the best-humoured woman in the world, and a devout woman, I having spied her on her knees half-an-hour this morning in her chamber, clambered up to the top of the banqueting-house to gather nuts; and so to the Hill-house to breakfast, and mighty merry. Then they took coach, and Sir G. Carteret kissed me himself heartily, and my lady several times with great kindness, and then the young ladies, and so, with much

will be to my mirth for a great while, it having been the passage of my whole life the most pleasing for the time, considering the quality and nature of the business, and my noble usage in the doing of it, and very many fine journeys, entertainments, and great company. So home, and found all things well, and letters that my Lord Hinchinbroke is arrived at Dover, and would be at Scott's Hall this night, where the whole company will meet. I wish myself with them.

5th. In the morning up, and my wife showed me several things of her doing, especially one fine woman's Persian head, mighty finely done, beyond what I could expect of her: and so away by water, having ordered in the yard six or eight bargemen to be whipped, who had last night stolen some of the King's cordage from out of the yard. De Ruyter is come home with all his fleet, which is very ill news. I am told of a great riot on Thursday last in Cheapside; Colonel Danvers, a delinquent, having been taken, and in his way to the Tower was rescued from the captain of the guard, and carried away; one only of the rescuers being taken.

7th. Talking with Mrs. Pegg Pen, and looking over her pictures, and commended them; but, Lord! so far short of my wife's as no comparison. Comes Rayner, the boatmaker, about some business, and

gone, then comes Luellin about Mr. Deering's business of plank, to have the contract perfected, and offers me twenty pieces in gold, but I refused it.

8th. To my office a little, and then to the Duke of Albemarle's about some business. The streets empty all the way now, even in London, which is a sad sight. And to Westminster Hall, where talking, hearing very sad stories from Mrs. Mumford; among others, of Mr. Mitchell's son's family. And poor Will, that used to sell us ale at the Hall-door, his wife and three children died, all, I think, in a day. So home, through the City again, wishing I may have taken no ill in going; but I will go, I think, no more thither. The news of De Ruyter's coming home is certain; and told to the great disadvantage of our fleet, and the praise of De Ruyter; but it cannot be helped.

10th. My she-cousin Porter, the turner's wife, to tell me that her husband was carried to the Tower, for buying of some of the King's powder, and would have my help, but I could give her none, not daring to appear in the business. By-and-by to the office, where we sat all the morning; in great trouble to see the bill this week rise so high, to above 4,000 in all, and of them above 3,000 of the plague. Home, to draw over anew my will, which I had bound myself by oath to despatch by to-morrow night; the town growing

11th. To the Exchequer about striking new tallies, and I find the Exchequer, by proclamation, removing to Nonsuch. Setting my house and all things in the best order I can, lest it should please God to take me away, or force me to leave my house.

12th. Sent for by Sir G. Carteret, to meet him and my Lord Hinchinbroke at Deptford, but my Lord did not come thither, he having crossed the river at Gravesend to Dagenhams, whither I dare not follow him, they being afraid of me; but Sir G. Carteret says he is a most sweet youth in every circumstance. Sir G. Carteret being in haste of going to the Duke of Albemarle and the Archbishop, he was pettish. The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the nights not sufficing to do it in. And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for air. There is one also dead out of one of our ships at Deptford, which troubles us mightily—the *Providence*, fire-ship, which was just fitted to go to sea; but they tell me to-day no more sick on board. And this day W. Bodham tells me that one is dead at Woolwich, not far from the rope-yard. I am told, too, that a wife of one of the grooms at Court is dead at Salisbury; so that the King and

Queen are speedily to be all gone to Wilton. So God preserve us!

13th (Lord's day.) I find myself worth, besides Brampton estates, the sum of £2,164, for which the Lord be praised!

14th. To Sir G. Carteret; and, among other things, he told me, that he was not for the fanfaron, to make a show with a great title, as he might have had long since, but the main thing to get an estate, and another thing, speaking of minding of business—"By G—d," says he, "I will and have already almost brought it to that pass, that the King shall not be able to whip a cat, but I mean to be at the tail of it!" meaning, so necessary he is, and the King and my Lord Treasurer all do confess it, which, while I mind my business, is my own case in this office of the Navy. After dinner, beat Captain Cocke at billiards; won about 8s. of him and my Lord Brouncker. This night I did present my wife with a diamond ring, awhile since given me by Mr. Vine's brother, for helping him to be a purser, valued at about £10, the first thing of that nature I did give her. Great fears we have that the plague will be a great bill this week.

15th. It was dark before I could get home, and so land at Church-yard stairs, where, to my great trouble, I met a dead corpse of the plague, in the narrow alley,

thank God I was not much disturbed at it. However, I shall beware of being late abroad again.

16th. To the Exchange, where I have not been a great while. But, Lord! how sad a sight it is to see the streets empty of people, and very few upon the 'Change. Jealous of every door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague; and about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up. This day I had the ill news from Dagenhams, that my poor Lord of Hinchingbroke's indisposition is turned to the small-pox. -I am most heartily sorry for it.

18th. To Sheerness, where we walked up and down, laying out the ground to be taken in for a yard to lay provisions for cleaning and repairing of ships, and a most proper place it is for the purpose. Late in the dark to Gravesend, where great is the plague, and I troubled to stay there so long for the tide.

19th. Come letters from the King and Lord Arlington, for the removal of our office to Greenwich. I also wrote letters, and made myself ready to go to Sir G. Carteret at Windsor; and having borrowed a horse of Mr. Blackborough, sent him to wait for me at the Duke of Albemarle's door: when, on a sudden, a letter comes to us from the Duke of Albemarle, to tell us that the fleet is all come back to Solebay, and are presently to be despatched back again. Whereupon I presently by water to the Duke of Albemarle to know what news; and there I saw a letter from my

from Sir. W. Coventry and Captain Teddiman, now my Lord having commanded Teddiman, with twenty-two ships, of which but fifteen could get thither, and of those fifteen but eight or nine could come up to play, to go to Bergen; where, after several messages to and from the Governor of the Castle, urging that Teddiman ought not to come thither with more than five ships, and desiring time to think of it, all the while he suffering the Dutch ships to land their guns to the best advantage; Teddiman, on the second pretence, began to play at the Dutch ships, whereof ten East Indiamen, and in three hours' time, the town and castle, without any provocation, playing on our ships, they did cut all our cables, so as the wind being off the land, did force us to go out, and rendered our fire-ships useless, without doing anything, but what hurt of course our guns must have done them: we having lost five commanders, besides Mr. Edward Montagu and Mr. Windham. Our fleet is come home, to our great grief, with not above five weeks' dry, and six days' wet provisions: however, must go out again; and the Duke hath ordered the *Sovereign*, and all other ships ready, to go out to the fleet and strengthen them. This news troubles us all, but cannot be helped. Having read all this news and received commands of the Duke with great content, he giving me the words which, to my great joy, he hath several

me; and my Lord Craven also did come out to talk with me, and told me that I am in mighty esteem with the Duke, for which I bless God. Home; and having given my fellow-officers an account hereof at Chatham, and wrote other letters, I by water to Charing Cross, to the post-house, and there the people tell me they are shut up; and so I went to the new post-house, and there got a guide and horses to Hounslow. So to Staines, and there by this time it was dark night, and got a guide, who lost his way in the forest, till, by the help of the moon, which recompenses me for all the pains I ever took about studying of her motions, I led my guide into the way back again; and so we made a man rise that kept a gate, and so he carried us to Cranborne, where in the dark I perceived an old house new building, with a great deal of rubbish, and was fain to go up a ladder to Sir G. Carteret's chamber. And there, in his bed, I sat down, and told him all my bad news, which troubled him mightily; but yet we were very merry and made the best of it; and being myself weary, did take leave; and, after having spoken with Mr. Fenn in bed, I to bed in my lady's chamber that she uses to lie in, where the Duchess of York that now is was born. So to sleep; being very well, but weary, and the better by having carried with me a bottle of strong water; whereof, now and then a sip did me good.

walked by my bedside half-an-hour, talking, and telling how my Lord is unblameable in all this ill success, he having followed orders; and that all ought to be imputed to the falseness of the King of Denmark, who, he told me as a secret, had promised to deliver up the Dutch ships to us, and we expected no less; and swears it will, and will easily, be the ruin of him and his kingdom, if we fall out with him, as we must in honour do; but that all that can be, must be to get the fleet out again, to intercept De Witt, who certainly will be coming home with the East India fleet, he being gone thither. I up, and to walk forth to see the place; and I find it to be a very noble seat in a noble forest, with the noblest prospect towards Windsor, and round about over many counties that can be desired; but otherwise a very melancholy place and little variety, save only trees. So took horse for Staines, and thence to Branford, to Mr. Povy's. Mr. Povy not being at home, I lost my labour—only ate and drank there with his lady, and told my bad news, and hear the plague is round about them there. After church, to my inn, and ate and drank, and so about seven o'clock by water, and got, between nine and ten, to Queenhithe, very dark; and I could not get my waterman to go elsewhere for fear of the plague. Thence with a lantern, in great fear of meeting of dead corpses carrying to be buried; but, blessed be God! met none, but did see

distance.

21st. Called up by message from my Lord Brouncker and the rest of my fellows, that they will meet me at the Duke of Albemarle's this morning; so I up, and weary, however, got thither before them, and spoke with my Lord, and with him and other gentlemen to walk in the Park, where, I perceive, he spends much of his time, having no whither else to go; and here I heard him speak of some Presbyter people that he caused to be apprehended yesterday, at a private meeting in Covent Garden, which he would have released upon paying £5 per man for the poor, but it was answered they would not pay anything; so he ordered them to another prison from the guard. By-and-by comes my fellow-officers, and the Duke walked in, and to counsel with us; and that being done, we parted, and Sir W. Batten and I to the office, where, after business, I to his house to dinner, whither comes Captain Cocke, for whose epicurism a dish of partridges was sent for. Thence to my Lord Brouncker at Greenwich, to look after the lodgings appointed for us there for our office, which do by no means please us; they being in the heart of all the labourers and workmen there, which makes it as unsafe as to be, I think, at London. Messengers went to get a boat for me to carry me to Woolwich, but all to no purpose; so I was forced to walk it in the dark, at ten o'clock at night, with Sir J.

fear of the dogs at Coome farm, and more for fear of rogues by the way, and yet more because of the plague which is there, which is very strange, it being a single house all alone from the town, but it seems they used to admit beggars, for their own safety, to lie in their barns, and they brought it to them. To my wife, and having first viewed her last piece of drawing since I saw her, which is seven or eight days, which pleases me beyond anything in the world, to bed, with great content, but weary.

22nd. Up, and being importuned by my wife and her two maids, which are both good wenches, for me to buy a necklace of pearl for her, and I promising to give her one of £60 in two years at furthest, and less if she pleases me in her painting. I went away and walked to Greenwich, in my way seeing a coffin with a dead body therein, dead of the plague, lying in an open close belonging to Coome farm, which was carried out last night, and the parish have not appointed anybody to bury it; but only set a watch there all day and night, that nobody should go thither or come thence: this disease making us more cruel to one another than we are to dogs. Walked to Redriffe, troubled to go through the little lane, where the plague is, but did, and took water and home, where all well.

23rd. Busy writing letters, and received a very kind and good one from my Lord Sandwich, of his arrival

Jemimah, and he tells me more, the good news that all our ships, which were in such danger that nobody would insure upon them, from the Eastland, were all safe arrived.

25th. This day I am told that Dr. Burnett, my physician, is this morning dead of the plague, which is strange, his man dying so long ago, and his house this month open again. Now himself dead. Poor, unfortunate man!

26th. With Mr. Andrews and Mr. Yeabsly, talking about their business. We parted at my Lord Branneker's door, where I went in, having never been there before, and there he made a noble entertainment for Sir J. Minnes, myself, and Captain Cocke, none else, saving some painted lady that dined there; I know not who she is. But very merry we were, and after dinner into the garden, and to see his and her chamber, where some good pictures, and a very handsome young woman for my lady's woman. By water home, in my way seeing a man taken up dead out of the hold of a small catch that lay at Deptford. I doubt it might be the plague, which, with the thought of Dr. Burnett, did something disturb me.

28th. To Mr. Colville, the goldsmith's, having not for some days been in the streets; but now how few people I see, and those looking like people that had

was not fifty people upon it, and but few more like to be, as they told me. I think to take adieu to-day of the London streets. In much the best posture I ever was in in my life, both as to the quantity and the certainty I have of the money I am worth, having most of it in my hand. But then this is a trouble to me what to do with it, being myself this day going to be wholly at Woolwich; but, for the present, I am resolved to venture it in an iron chest—at least for a while. Just now comes news that the fleet is gone, or going this day, out again, for which God be praised! and my Lord Sandwich hath done himself great right in it, in getting so soon out again. I met my wife walking to the water-side, with her painter, Mr. Browne, and her maids.

29th. To Greenwich, and called at Sir Theophilus Biddulph's, a sober, discreet man, to discourse of the preventing of the plague in Greenwich, and Woolwich, and Deptford, where in every place it begins to grow very great.

30th. Abroad, and met with Hadley, our clerk, who, upon me asking how the plague goes, told me it increases much, and much in our parish; for, says he, there died nine this week, though I have returned but six; which is a very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places: and therefore the plague much greater than people take it to be. I went forth, and

going to the grave; but, as God would have it, did not. But Lord! how everybody's looks and discourse in the street is of death, and nothing else; and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken.

31st. Up, and, after putting several things in order to my removal, to Woolwich: the plague having a great increase this week, beyond all expectation, of almost 2,000, making the general bill 7,000, odd 100; and the plague above 6,000. Thus this month ends with great sadness upon the public, through the greatness of the plague everywhere through the kingdom almost. Every day sadder and sadder news of its increase. In the City died this week 7,496, and of them 6,102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000; partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them. Our fleet gone out to find the Dutch, we having about 100 sail in our fleet, and in them the *Sovereign* one: so that it is a better fleet than the former with which the Duke was. All our fear is, that the Dutch should be got in before them, which would be a very great sorrow to the public, and to me particularly, for my Lord Sandwich's sake; a great deal of money being spent,

more. And to that, to have it said, what hath been done by our late fleets? As to myself, I am very well, only in fear of the plague, and as much of an ague, by being forced to go early and late to Woolwich, and my family to lie there continually. My late greetings have been very great, to my great content, and am likely to have yet a few more profitable jobs in a little while; for which Tangier and Sir W. Warren I am wholly obliged to.

September 1. At the Duke of Albemarle's I overheard some examinations of the late plot that is discoursed of, and a great deal of do there is about it. Among other discourses I heard read an examination and discourse of Sir Philip Howard's, with one of the plotting party. These words being, "Then said Sir P. Howard, 'If you so come over to the King, and be faithful to him, you shall be maintained, and be set up with a horse and arms,'" and I know not what. And then said such a one, "Yes, I will be true to the King," And thus I believe twelve times Sir P. Howard answered him a damn me, which was a fine way of rhetoric to persuade a Quaker or Anabaptist from his persuasion. And this was read in the hearing of Sir P. Howard before the Duke and twenty more officers, and they made sport of it, only without any reproach, or he being anything ashamed of it. But the plotter did at

3rd. Lord's day.) Up, and put on my color
suit, very fine, and my new periwig, bought
while since, but durst not wear, because the pla
in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a
what will be the fashion after the plague is do
periwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any hair
of the infection, that it had been cut off the
people dead of the plague. My Lord Brounc
J. Minnes, and I, up to the Vestry at the desir
Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing so
for the keeping of the plague from growin
Lord! to consider the madness of people of t
who will, because they are forbid, come in
along with the dead corpses to see them bur
we agreed on some orders for the prevention
Among other stories, one was very passion
thought, of a complaint brought against a ma
town, for taking a child from London from an
house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the
a very able citizen in Gracious Street, a sadd
had buried all the rest of his children of the
and himself and wife now being shut up in d
escaping, did desire only to save the life of t
child; and so prevailed to have it received stan
into the arms of a friend, who brought it, hav
it into new fresh clothes, to Greenwich; whe

Woolwich, in great apprehensions of an ague. Here was my Lord Brouncker's lady of pleasure, who, I perceive, goes everywhere with him; and he, I find, is obliged to carry her, and make all the courtship to her that can be.

4th. Walked home, my Lord Brouncker giving me a very neat cane to walk with; but it troubled me to pass by Coome farm, where about twenty-one people have died of the plague.

5th. After dinner comes Colonel Blunt, in his new chariot made with springs; as that was of wicker wherein a while since we rode at his house. And he hath rode, he says, now his journey, many miles in it with one horse, and out-drives any coach, and out-comes any horse, and so easy, he says. So, for curiosity, I went into it to try it, and up the hill to the heath, and over the cart ruts, and found it pretty well, but not so easy as he pretends.

6th. To London to pack up more things; and there I saw fires burning in the street, as it is through the whole City, by the Lord Mayor's order. Thence by water to the Duke of Albemarle's: all the way fires on each side of the Thames, and strange to see in broad daylight two or three burials upon the bankside, one at the very heels of another: doubtless, all of the plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going

pleasant with me; telling me that he is certainly informed that the Dutch were not come home upon the 1st instant, and so he hopes our fleet may meet with them.

7th. To the Tower, and there sent for the weekly bill, and find 8,252 dead in all, and of them 6,978 of the plague; which is a most dreadful number, and shows reasons to fear that the plague hath got that hold that it will yet continue among us. Thence to Branford, reading "The Villain," a pretty good play, all the way. There a coach of Mr. Povy's stood ready for me, and he at his house ready to come in, and so we together merrily to Swakely, to Sir R. Viner's: a very pleasant place, bought by him of Sir James Harrington's lady. He took us up and down with great respect, and showed us all his house and grounds; and it is a place not very modern in the garden nor house, but the most uniform in all that ever I saw, and some things to excess. Pretty to see over the screen of the hall, put up by Sir J. Harrington, a long Parliament-man, the King's head, and my Lord of Essex on one side, and Fairfax on the other; and upon the other side of the screen, the parson of the parish, and the lord of the manor and his sisters. The window-cases, door-cases, and chimneys of all the house are marble. He showed me a black boy that he had, that died of a consumption; and, being dead, he

yet handsome, but hath been a very handsome woman, now is old: hath brought him near £100,000; and now he lives, no man in England in greater plenty, and commands both King and Council with his credit he gives them. After dinner Sir Robert led us up to his long gallery, very fine, above stairs, and better or such furniture I never did see. A most pleasant journey we had back. Povy tells me, by a letter he showed me, that the King is not, nor hath been of late, very well, but quite out of humour; and, as some think, in a consumption, and weary of everything. He showed me my Lord Arlington's house that he was born in, in a town called Harlington: and so carried me through a most pleasant country to Branford, and there put me into my boat, and good night. So I wrapped myself warm, and by water got to Woolwich about one in the morning.

9th. To my Lord Brouncker's, all of us, to dinner, where a good venison pasty, and mighty merry. Here was Sir W. Doyly, lately come from Ipswich about the sick and wounded, and Mr. Evelyn and Captain Cocks. My wife also was sent for by my Lord Brouncker, and was here. After dinner, my Lord and his mistress would see her home again, it being a most rainy afternoon, and I, forced to go to the office on foot, was almost wet to the skin, and spoiled my silk breeches

almost. I was forced to get a bed at Captain Cocke's, where I found Sir W. Doyly, and he, and Evelyn at supper; and I with them full of discourse of the neglect of our masters, the great officers of State, about all business, and especially that of money: having now some thousand prisoners, kept to no purpose at a great charge, and no money provided almost for the doing of it. We fell to talk largely of the want of some persons understanding to look after businesses, but all goes to wreck. "For," says Captain Cocke, "my Lord Treasurer, he minds his ease, and lets things go how they will: if he can have his £8,000 per annum, and a game at l'Ombre, he is well. My Lord Chancellor he minds getting of money and nothing else; and my Lord Ashley will rob the devil and the altar, but he will get money if it be to be got." But that which puts us into this great melancholy was news brought to-day, which Captain Cocke reports as a certain truth, that all the Dutch fleet, man-of-war and merchant East India ships, are got every one in from Bergen the 3rd of this month, Sunday last, which will make us all ridiculous.

10th. (Lord's day.) Walked home; being forced thereto by one of my watermen falling sick yesterday, and it was God's great mercy that I did not go by water with them yesterday, for he fell sick on Saturday night, and it is to be feared of the plague. So I sent

came to me this morning. My wife, before I came out, telling me the ill news that she hears that her father is very ill, and then I told her I feared of the plague, for that the house is shut up. And so she much troubled, and did desire me to send them something, and I said I would, and will do so. But before I came out there happened news to come to me by an express from Mr. Coventry, telling me the most happy news of my Lord Sandwich's meeting with part of the Dutch; his taking two of their East India ships and six or seven others, and very good prizes; and that he is in search of the rest of the fleet, which he hopes to find upon the Wellbank, with the loss only of the *Hector*, poor Captain Cuttle. To Greenwich, and there sending away Mr. Andrews, I to Captain Cocke's, where I find my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and Sir J. Minnes, where we supped; there was also Sir W. Doyly and Mr. Evelyn; but the receipt of this news did put us all into such an ecstasy of joy, that it inspired into Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Evelyn such a spirit of mirth, that in all my life I never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was. Among other humours, Mr. Evelyn's repeating of some verses made up of nothing but the various acceptations of *may* and *can*, and doing it so aptly upon occasion of something of that nature, and so fast, did make us all die almost with laughing, and did so stop the mouth of Sir J. Minnes in the middle of all his mirth, and in a

thing agreeing with his own manner of genius, that I never saw any man so outdone in all my life; and Sir J. Minnes's mirth, too, to see himself outdone, was the crown of all our mirth. In this humour we sat till about ten at night, and so my Lord and his mistress home, and we to bed.

11th. Over to the ferry, where Sir W. Batten's coach was ready for us, and to Walthamstow drove merrily, and there a good plain venison dinner. After dinner, to billiards, where I won an angel. Sir W. Hickes was there, and my Lady Batten invited herself to dine with him this week, and she invited us all to dine with her there, which we agreed to, only to vex him, he being the most niggardly fellow, it seems, in the world. So to Greenwich, where my Lord Rutherford and Creed come from Court, and have brought me several orders for money to pay for Tangier; and, among the rest, £7,000 and more, to this Lord, which is an excellent thing to consider, that, though they can do nothing else, they can give away the king's money upon their progress. I did give him the best answer I could to pay him with tallies, and that is all they could get from me.

13th. My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I took boat, and in my Lord's coach to Sir W. Hickes's, whither, by-and-by, my Lady Batten and Sir William comes. It is a good seat, with a fair grove of trees by

to ruin, both house and everything in and about it, so ill furnished and miserably looked after, I never did see in all my life. Not so much as a latch to his dining-room door, which saved him nothing, for the wind blowing into the room for want thereof, flung down a great bow-pot that stood upon the side-table, and that fell upon some Venice glasses, and did him a crown's worth of hurt. He did give us the meanest dinner, of beef, shoulder and umbles of venison, which he takes away from the keeper of the Forest, and a few pigeons, and all in the meanest manner that ever I did see, to the basest degree. I was only pleased at a very fine picture of the Queen-Mother, when she was young, by Vandyke; a very good picture, and a lovely face.

14th. To London, where I have not been now a pretty while. To the Duke of Albemarle, where I find a letter of the 12th, from Solebay, from my Lord Sandwich, of the fleet's meeting with about eighteen more of the Dutch fleet, and his taking of most of them; and the messenger says, they had taken three after the letter was wrote and sealed; which being twenty-one, and the fourteen took the other day is forty-five sail; some of which are good, and others rich ships. And, having taken a copy of my Lord's letter, I away toward the 'Change, the plague being all thereabouts. Here my news was highly welcome, and I did wonder to see the 'Change so full: I believe 200 people: but not a man

with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the plague upon them. I spent some thoughts upon the occurrences of this day, giving matter for as much content on one hand, and melancholy on another, as any day in all my life. For the first, the finding of my money and plate, and all safe at London, and speeding in my business this day. The hearing of this good news to such excess, after so great a despair of my Lord's doing anything this year; adding to that, the decrease of 500 and more, which is the first decrease we have yet had in the sickness since it began; and great hopes that the next week it will be greater. Then, on the other side, my finding that though the bill in general is abated, yet the City within the walls is increased, and likely to continue so, and is close to our house there. My meeting dead corpses of the plague, carried to be buried close to me at noonday through the City in Fenchurch Street. To see a person sick of the sores carried close by me by Gracechurch in a hackney coach. My finding the "Angel Tavern," at the lower end of Tower Hill, shut up; and more than that, the ale-house at the Tower Stairs; and more than that, that the person was then dying of the plague when I was last there, a little while ago, at night. To hear that poor Payne, my waiter, hath buried a child, and is dying

himself. To hear that a labourer I sent but the other day to Dagenhams, to know how they did there, is dead of the plague; and that one of my own watermen, that carried me daily, fell sick as soon as he had landed me on Friday morning last, when I had been all night upon the water, and I believe he did get his infection that day at Branford, and is now dead of the plague. To hear that Captain Lambert and Cuttle are killed in the taking these ships; and that Mr. Sydney Mont'agu is sick of a desperate fever at my Lady Carteret's, at Scott's Hall. To hear that Mr. Lewis hath another daughter sick. And lastly, that both my servants, W. Hewer and Tom Edwards, have lost their fathers, both in St. Sepulchre's parish, of the plague this week, do put me into great apprehensions of melancholy, and with good reason. But I put off my thoughts of sadness as much as I can, and the rather to keep my wife in good heart, and family also.

15th. With Captain Cocke, and there drank a cup of good drink, which I am fain to allow myself during this plague time, by advice of all, and not contrary to my oath, my physician being dead, and chirurgeon out of the way, whose advice I am obliged to take. In much pain to think what I shall do this winter time; for going every day to Woolwich I cannot, without endangering my life; and staying from my wife at Greenwich is not handsome.

claim himself an ass, for no service he can do here, nor inform my Lord, who is come in thither to the buoy of the Nore, in anything worth his knowledge. The likelihood of the increase of the plague this week makes us a little sad. To Captain Cocke's, meaning to lie there, it being late, and he not being at home, I walked to him to my Lord Brouncker's, and there stayed a while, they being at tables: and so by-and-by parted, and walked to his house; and, after a mess of good broth, to bed, in great pleasure, his company being most excellent.

17th. (Lord's day.) To church, where a company of fine people, and a fine church, and very good sermon, Mr. Plume being a very excellent scholar and preacher. To Gravesend in the *Bezan* yacht, and there come to anchor for all night, and supped and talked, and with much pleasure at last settled ourselves to sleep, having very good lodgings upon cushions in the cabin.

18th. By break of day we came to within sight of the fleet, which was a very fine thing to behold, being above 100 ships, great and small; with the flag-ships of each squadron, distinguished by their several flags on their main, fore, or mizzen-masts. Among others, the *Sovereign*, *Charles*, and *Prince*; in the last of which my Lord Sandwich was. And so we come on board, and we find my Lord Sandwich newly up in his night-gown very well. He received us kindly; telling

us the state of the fleet, lacking provisions, having no beer at all, nor have had, most of them, these three weeks or month, and but few days' dry provisions. And, indeed, he tells us that he believes no fleet was ever set to sea in so ill condition of provision as this was when it went out last. He did inform us in the business of Bergen, so as to let us see how the judgment of the world is not to be depended on in things they know not; it being a place just wide enough, and not so much hardly, for ships to go through to it, the yard-arms sticking in the very rocks. He does not, upon his best inquiry, find reason to except against any part of the management of the business by Teddiman; he having stayed treating no longer than during the night, while he was fitting himself to fight, bringing his ship abreast, and not a quarter of an hour longer, as it is said; nor could more ships have been brought to play, as is thought. Nor could men be landed, there being 10,000 men effectively always in arms of the Danes; nor, says he, could we expect more from the Danes than he did, it being impossible to set fire on the ships but it must burn the town. But that wherein the Dane did amiss is, that he did assist them, the Dutch, all the time while he was treating with us, when he should have been neutral to us both. But, however, he did demand but the treaty of us; which is, that we should not come with more than five

hang it out, they did shoot at us; so that it was not seen, or perhaps they would not cease upon sight of it, while they continued actually in action against us. But the main thing my Lord wonders at and condemns the Dane for is, that the blockhead, who is so much in debt to the Hollander, having now a treasure more by much than all his crown was worth, and that, which would for ever have beggared the Hollander, should not take this time to break with the Hollander and thereby pay his debt, which must have been forgiven him, and have got the greatest treasure into his hands that ever was together in the world. By-and-by, my Lord took me aside to discourse of his private matters, and was very free with me touching the ill condition of the fleet that it hath been in, and the good fortune that he hath had, and nothing else, that these prizes are to be imputed to. He also talked with me about Mr. Coventry's dealing with him in sending Sir W. Pen away before him, which was not fair nor kind; but that he hath mastered and cajoled Sir W. Pen, that he hath been able to do nothing in the fleet, but been obedient to him; but withal tells me he is a man that is but of very mean parts, and a fellow not to be lived with, so false and base he is; which I knew well enough to be true; and did, as I had formerly done, give my Lord my knowledge of him. By-and-by was called a council of war on board, when comes Sir W.

Spang, Sir Joseph Verard, Sir Thomas Rodman, and Sir Roger Cuttance. Great spoil, I hear, there hath been of the two East India ships, and that yet they will come into the King very rich; so that I hope this journey will be worth a £100 to me. So to our yacht again, having seen many of my friends there, and continued till we came into Chatham river. Among others, I hear that W. Howe will grow very rich by this late business, and grows very proud and insolent by it; but it is what I ever expected. I hear by everybody how much my poor Lord Sandwich was concerned for me during my silence a while, lest I had been dead of the plague in this sickly time.

19th. To Sir John Minnes's, where I find my Lady Batten come, and she and my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and the whole house-full there at cards.

20th. Up, and after being trimmed, the first time I have been touched by a barber these twelve months, I think, and more, by-and-by Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten met, to go into my Lord Brouncker's coach, and so we four to Lambeth, and thence to the Duke of Albemarle, to inform him what we have done as to the fleet, which is very little, and to receive his direction. But, Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the river; and grass grows all up and down Whitehall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets! And which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the

night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations, from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8,297, and of them the plague 7,165; which is more, in the whole, by above 50, than the biggest bill yet: which is very grievous to us all. I find Sir W. Batten and his lady gone home to Walthamstow, with some necessity hearing that a maid-servant of theirs is taken ill.

21st. Up between five and six o'clock; and by the time I was ready my Lord Brouncker's coach came for me; and taking Will Hewer with me, who is all in mourning for his father, who is lately dead of the plague, as my boy Tom's is also, I set out, and took about £100 with me to pay the fees at the Exchequer at Nonsuch, and so I rode in some fear of robbing. When I came thither I find only Mr. Ward, who led me to Burges's bedside, and Spicer's, who, watching of the house, as it is their turns every night, did lie long in bed to-day, and I find nothing at all done in my business, which vexed me. But not seeing how to help it, I did walk up and down with Mr. Ward to see the house. Walked up and down the house and park and a fine place it hath heretofore been, and a fine prospect about the house. A great walk of an elm and a walnut set one after another in order. And all the house on the outside filled with figures of stories

and good painting of Rubens' or Holbein's doing. And one great thing is, that most of the house is covered—I mean, the posts and quarters in the walls, with lead, and gilded. I walked also into the ruined garden. Strange to see how young W. Bowyer looks at forty-one years; one would not take him for twentyfore or more, and is one of the greatest wonders I ever did see. I got to my Lord Brouncker's before night, and there I sat and supped with him and his mistress, and Cocke, whose boy is yet ill. Thence, after losing a crown betting at tables, we walked home; Cocke seeing me to my new lodging.

22nd. At Blackwall. Here is observable what Johnson tells us, that in digging the late dock they did, twelve feet under ground, find perfect trees overcovered with earth. Nut-trees, with the branches and the very nuts upon them; some of whose nuts he showed us. Their shells black with age; and their kernel, upon opening, decayed, but their shell perfectly hard as ever. And a yew-tree, upon which the very ivy was taken up whole about it, which, upon cutting with an adze, we found it to be rather harder than the living tree usually is. The arms, they say, were taken up at first whole, about the body, which is very strange. To Woolwich, and my Lord Sandwich not being come, we took a boat, and about a mile off met him in his catch, and boarded him, and came up with

which I ordered, to have my wife see him, we altogether by coach to Mr. Boreman's, where Sir J. Minnes did receive him very handsomely, and there he is to lie; and Sir J. Minnes did give him, on the sudden, a very handsome supper and brave discourse, my Lord Brouncker, and Captain Cocke, and Captain Herbert being there, with myself. Here my Lord did witness great respect to me and very kind expressions, and did take notice how I was overjoyed at first to see the King's letter to his Lordship, and told them how I did kiss it, and that, whatever he was, I did always love the King. Among other discourse concerning long life, Sir J. Minnes saying that his great grandfather was alive in Edward V.'s time; my Lord Sandwich did tell us how few there have been of his family since King Harry VIII.; that is to say, the then Chief Justice, and his son and the Lord Montagu, who was father to Sir Sidney, who was his father. And yet, what is more wonderful, he did assure us, from the mouth of my Lord Montagu himself, that, in King James's time, when he had a mind to get the King to cut off the entail of some land which was given in Harry VIII.'s time to the family, with the remainder in the Crown, he did answer the King in showing how unlikely it was that ever it could revert to the Crown, but that it would be a present convenience to him; and did show that, at that time, there were 4,000 persons

1665.] seems the number of daughters in the family having been very great, and they too had most of them many children and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. This he tells as a most known and certain truth. After supper my Lord Brouncker took his leave, and I also did mine, taking Captain Herbert home to my lodging to lie with me, who did mighty seriously inquire after who was that in the black dress with my wife yesterday, and would not believe that it was my wife's maid Mercer, but it was she.

23rd. To my Lord Sandwich, who did advise alone with me how far he might trust Captain Cocke in the business of the prize-goods, my Lord telling me that he hath taken into his hands £2,000 or £3,000 value of them: it being a good way, he says, to get money, and afterwards to get the King's allowance thereof, it being easier, he observes, to keep money when got of the King than to get it when it is too late. I advised him not to trust Cocke too far. Thence to Lambeth—his Lordship, and all our office, and Mr. Evelyn, to the Duke of Albemarle, where we sat down to consult of the disposing and supporting of the fleet with victuals and money, and for the sick men and prisoners; and I did propose the taking out some goods out of the prizes, to the value of £10,000, which was accorded to: but what inconveniences may arise from it I do not yet see, but fear there may be many.

publicly of me to the Duke, in the hearing of all the rest; and the Duke did say something of the like advantage to me—I believe, not much to the satisfaction of my brethren; but I was mightily joyed at it. Thence took leave, leaving my Lord Sandwich to go visit the Bishop of Canterbury. With Captain Cocke set out in the yacht for the fleet about ten o'clock at night.

24th. (Lord's day.) Waked, and up, and drank; and then, being about Grays, and a very calm, curious morning, we took our wherry, and to the fishermen, and bought a great deal of fine fish, and to Gravesend to White's, and had part of it dressed; and, in the meantime, we to walk about a mile from the town, and so back again; and there one of our watermen told us he had heard of a bargain of cloves for us, and we went to a blind alehouse at the further end of the town, to a couple of wretched, dirty seamen, who, poor wretches, had got together about thirty-seven pounds of cloves and ten pounds of nutmegs, and we bought them of them—the first at 5s. 6d. per pound, and the latter at 4s., and paid them in gold; but Lord, to see how silly these men are in the selling of it, and easy to be persuaded almost to anything. But it would never have been allowed by my conscience to

have wronged the poor wretches, who told us how dangerously they had got some, and dearly paid for the rest of these goods.

25th. Found ourselves come to the fleet, and so aboard the *Prince*; and there, after a good while in discourse, we did agree to a bargain of £5,000 for my Lord Sandwich, for silk, cinnamon, nutmegs, and indigo. And I was near signing to an undertaking for the payment of the whole sum; but I did by chance escape it; having since, upon second thoughts, great cause to be glad of it, reflecting upon the craft and not good condition, it may be, of Captain Cocke. I could get no trifles for my wife, and so away to the *Prince*, and presently comes my Lord, on board from Greenwich, with whom, after a little discourse about his trusting of Cocke, we parted, and to our yacht; but it being calm we, to make haste, took our wherry towards Chatham; but it growing dark we were put to great difficulties—our simple yet confident waterman not knowing a step of the way; and we found ourselves to go backward and forward, which in the dark night and a wild place did vex us mightily. At last we got a fisher boy by chance, and took him into the boat, and being an odd kind of boy, did vex us too; for he would not answer us aloud when we spoke to him, but did carry us safe thither, though with a mistake or two; but I wonder they were not more. In our way I was astonished, and so were we all, at the

strange nature of the sea-water in a dark night, that it seemed like fire upon every stroke of the oar, and they say is a sign of wind. We, in our clothes, to bed.

. 27th. Up and saw and admired my wife's picture of Our Saviour, now finished, which is very pretty. By water to Greenwich, where to the "King's Head," the great music-house, the first time I was ever there. Much troubled to hear from Creed, that he was told at Salisbury that I am come to be a great swearer and drunkard; but Lord! to see how my late little drinking of wine is taken notice of by envious men, to my disadvantage. To Captain Cocke's, and he not yet come from town, to Mr. Evelyn, where much company; and thence in his coach with him to the Duke of Albemarle, by Lambeth, who was in a mighty pleasant humour; and tells us that the Dutch do stay abroad, and our fleet must go out again, or be ready to do so. Here we got several things ordered, as we desired, for the relief of the prisoners, and sick and wounded men. Here I saw this week's bill of mortality, wherein, blessed be God! there is above 1,800 decrease, being the first considerable decrease we have had. Most excellent discourse with Mr. Evelyn touching all manner of learning, wherein I find him a very fine gentleman, and particularly of painting, in which he tells me the beautiful Mrs. Middleton is rare, and his own wife does brave things. Captain Cocke

first resolved to have lodged them at our office; but the thoughts of its being the King's house altered our resolution, and so put them at his friends, Mr. Glanville's, and there they are safe. Would the rest of them were so too! In discourse, we come to mention my profit, and he offers me £500 clear, and I demand £600. We part to-night, and I lie at Mr. Glanville's house, there being none there but a maid-servant and a young man, being in some pain, partly from not knowing what to do in this business, having a mind to be at a certainty in my profit, and partly through his having Jack sick still, and his blackamoor now also fallen sick. So he being gone, I to bed.

29th. I had my horse I borrowed of Mr. Gilethropp, Sir W. Batten's clerk, brought to me at Greenwich, and so set out and rode hard, and was at Nonsuch by about eight o'clock, a very fine journey and a fine day. There I came just about chapel-time, and so I went to chapel with them, and thence to the several offices about my tallies, which I find done, but strung for sums not to my purpose. But, Lord! what ado I had to persuade the dull fellows to it, especially Mr. Warder, Master of the Pells, and yet without any manner of reason for their scruple. But at last I did, and so walked to Ewell and to horse again, and came to

time at the office is the providing for prisoners and sick men that are recovered, they lying before our office doors all night and all day, poor wretches. Having been on shore, the captains won't receive them on board, and other ships we have not to put them on, nor money to pay them off, or provide for them. God remove this difficulty ! Hither came Luellin to me, and would force me to take Mr. Deering's twenty pieces in gold he did offer me a good while since, which I did, yet really and sincerely against my will and content, being not likely to reap any comfort in having to do with, and be beholden to, a man that minds more his pleasure and company than his business. Was set upon by the poor wretches, whom I did give words and some little money to, and the poor people went away like lambs, and, in good earnest, are not to be censured, if their necessities drive them to bad courses. Thence to the office, and thence to Captain Cocke's, where I find Mr. Temple, the fat blade, Sir Robert Viner's chief man. I do end this month with the greatest content, and may say that these last three months, for joy, health, and profit, have been much the greatest that ever I received all my life in any twelve months, having nothing upon me but the consideration of the sickliness of the season to mortify me.

October 1. (Lord's day.) Embarked on board the Bezan, and came to the fleet about two of the clock.

My Lord received me mighty kindly; and among other things, to my great joy, he did assure me that he had wrote to the King and Duke about these prize-goods, and told me that they did approve of what he had done, and that he would own what he had done, and would have me tell all the world so, and did, under his hand, give Cocke and me his certificate of our bargains, and giving us full power of disposal of what we have so bought. This do ease my mind of all my fear. He did discourse to us of the Dutch fleet being abroad, eighty-five of them still. After supper Captain Cocke and I, and Temple, on board the *Bezan*, and there to cards for a while, and so to sleep. But, Lord! the mirth which it caused to me, to be waked in the night by their snoring round about me: I did laugh till I was ready to burst, and waked one of the two companions of Temple, who could not a good while tell where he was, that he heard one laugh so, till he recollected himself, and I told him what it was at, and so to sleep again, they still snoring.

2nd. Having sailed all night, and I do wonder how they in the dark could find the way, we got by morning to Gillingham, and thence all walked to Chatham; and there, with Commissioner Pett, viewed the Yard; and, among other things, a team of four horses came close by us, he being with me, drawing a piece of timber, that I am confident one man could easily have

away, and a man or two to take the timber away with their hands. To Rochester, to visit the old castle ruins, which hath been a noble place; but, Lord! to see what a dreadful thing it is to look upon the precipices, for it did fright me mightily; the place hath been great and strong in former ages. So to walk up and down the cathedral and thence to the "Crown," whither Mr. Fowler, the mayor of the town, was come in his gown, and is a very reverend magistrate. Took horses to Gravesend, and there stayed not, but got a boat, the sickness being very much in the town still, and so called on board my Lord Brouncker and Sir John Minnes, on board one of the East Indiamen at Erith, and there do find them full of envious complaints for the pillaging of the ships, but I did not pacify them.

3rd. Sir W. Batten is gone this day to meet to adjourn the Parliament to Oxford. Comes one to tell me my Lord Rutherford is come; so I to the "King's Head" to him, where I find his lady—a fine young Scotch lady, pretty handsome and plain. My wife also and Mercer by-and-by come, Creed bringing them; and so presently to dinner, and very merry. That being done, and some music and other diversions, at last go away my Lord and Lady. This night I hear that of our two watermen that used to carry our letters, and were well on Saturday last, one is dead, ~

and the other dying sick of the plague; the plague though decreasing elsewhere, yet being greater about the Tower and thereabouts.

4th. This night comes Sir George Smith to see me at the office, and tells me how the plague is decreased this week 740, for which God be praised! but that it increases at our end of the town still. All the town is full of Captain Cocke's being in some ill condition about prize-goods, his goods being taken from him, and I know not what.

5th. Among other things, talking of my sister Pall, and my wife of herself is very willing that I should give her £400 to her portion, and would have her married soon as we could; but this great sickness time do make it unfit to send for her up. Read a book of Mr. Evelyn's translating, and sending me as a present, about directions for gathering a library; but the book is above my reach, but his epistle to my Lord Chancellor is a very fine piece. Then to Mr. Evelyn's, to discourse of our confounded business of prisoners, and sick and wounded seamen, wherein he and we are so much put out of order. And here he showed me his gardens, which are, for variety of evergreens and hedge of holly, the finest things I ever saw in my life. Thence in his coach to Greenwich, and there to my office, all the way having fine discourse of trees and the nature of vegetables. Renewed my promises of

ing and my business neglected.

7th. Did business, though not much, at the office, because of the horrible crowd and lamentable moan of the poor seamen that lie starving in the streets for lack of money, which do trouble and perplex me to the heart; and more at noon, when we were to go through them, for then above a whole hundred of them followed us; some cursing, some swearing, and some praying to us. A letter came this afternoon from the Duke of Albemarle, signifying the Dutch to be in sight, with eighty sail, yesterday morning, off Solebay, coming right into the bay. God knows what they will and may do to us, we having no force abroad able to oppose them, but to be sacrificed to them. At night came two waggons from Rochester, with more goods from Captain Cocke; and in housing them came two of the Custom-house, and did seize them: but I showed them my *transire*. However, after some angry words, we locked them up, and sealed up the key, and did give it to the constable to keep till Monday, and so parted. But Lord! to think how the poor constable came to me in the dark going home, "Sir," says he, "I have the key, and, if you would have me do any service for you, send for me betimes to-morrow morning, and I will do what you would have me." Whether the fellow do this out of kindness or knavery, I cannot tell, but it is pretty to observe. Talking with him

in the highway, come close by the bearers with a dead corpse of the plague; but Lord! to see what custom is that I am come almost to think nothing of it.

8th. (Lord's day.) A letter from the Duke of Albemarle to me, to order as many ships forth out of the river as I can presently, to join to meet the Dutch; having ordered all the captains of the ships in the river to come to me, I did some business with them, and so to Captain Cocke's to dinner—he being in the country. But here his brother Solomon was, and for guests, myself, Sir G. Smith, and a very fine lady, Mrs. Penington, and two more gentlemen. But both before and after dinner, most excellent witty discourse with this lady, who is a very fine witty lady, one of the best I ever heard speak, and indifferent handsome. To the office, where ended my business with the captains; and I think, of twenty-two ships, we shall make shift to get out seven, God help us! men being sick, or provisions lacking. This day I hear the Pope is dead; and one said that the news is, that the King of France is stabbed, but that the former is very true, which will do great things sure, as to the troubling of that part of the world, the King of Spain (Philip IV.) being so lately dead. And one thing more—Sir Martin Noell's lady is dead with grief for the death of her husband, but it seems nobody can make anything of his estate, whether he be dead worth anything or no, he having

rate of these great dealers at everything.

9th. To the Duke of Albemarle, and what should be, but to tell me that if my Lord Sandwich do come to town, he do resolve to go with the fleet to himself, the Dutch, as he thinks, being in the Do and so desired me to get a pleasure-boat for to him in to-morrow morning, and do many other things and with a great liking of me, and my manager especially, as that coxcomb Lord Craven do tell and I perceive it, and I am sure take pains enough deserve it.

10th. Up and receive a stop from the Duke of Albemarle of setting out any more ships, or providing pleasure-boat for himself, which I am glad of, and think, what I thought yesterday, that this resolution was a sudden one and silly. Sir G. Ascue says that he did from the beginning declare against the [prize] goods, and would not receive his dividend; that he and Sir W. Pen are at odds about it, and he fears Mings hath been doing ill offices to my Lord. I did to-night give my Lord an account of all this.

11th. Comes up my landlady, Mrs. Clerke, to make an agreement for the time to come; and I, for having room enough, and to keep out strangers, and have a place to retreat to for my wife, if the sick should come to Woolwich, am to pay dear; so, three rooms, and a dining-room, and for dinner, and

and to give her 20 l. per month. To which, and there we met Mr. Seymour, one of the Commissioners for prizes, and a Parliament man, and he was mighty high, and had now seized our goods on their behalf; and he mightily imperiously would have all forfeited. But I could not but think it odd that a Parliament man, in a serious discourse before such persons as we and my Lord Brouncker, and Sir John Minnes, should quote "Hudibras," as being the book I doubt he hath read most. To Woolwich, where we had appointed to keep the night merrily; and so, by Captain Cocke's coach, had brought a very pretty child, a daughter of one Mrs. Tooker's, next door to my lodging, and so she, and a daughter and kinsman of Mrs. Pett's, made up a fine company at my lodgings at Woolwich, where my wife, and Mercer, and Mrs. Barbara Sheldon, danced, and mighty merry we were, but especially at Mercer's dancing a jig, which she does the best I ever did see, having the most natural way of it, and keeps time the most perfectly I ever did see. This night is kept in lieu of yesterday, for my wedding-day of ten years; for which God be praised! being now in an extreme good condition of health and estate and honour, and a way of getting more money, though at this hour under some discomfiture, rather than damage, about some prize goods that I have bought off the fleet, in partnership with Captain Cocke, and for the discourse

about the world concerning my Lord Sandwich, that he hath done a thing so bad; and indeed it must needs have been a very rash act; and the rather because of a Parliament now newly met to give money, and will have some account of what hath already been spent, besides the precedent for a General to take what prizes he pleases, and the giving a pretence to take away much more than he intended, and all will lie upon him; and not giving to all the Commanders, as well as the Flags, he displeases all them, and offends even some of the Flags, thinking others to be better served than themselves; and lastly, puts himself out of a power of begging anything again a great while of the King. Having danced my people as long as I saw fit to sit up, I to bed, and left them to do what they would.

12th. About the prize-goods, and do find that extreme ill use was made of my Lord Sandwich's order. Having learned as much as I could, which was, that the King and Duke were very severe in this point, whatever order they before had given my Lord in approbation of what he had done, and that all will come out, and the King see, by the entries at the Custom House, what all do amount to that had been taken, and so I took leave. Good news this week, that there are about 600 less dead of the plague than the last.

13th. Sir Jeremiah Smith to see me in his way to

about him—among other things, talking of ships to get of the King to fetch coals for the poor of the City, which is a good work. But, Lord, to hear the silly talk between these three great people! Yet I have no reason to find fault, the Duke and my Lord Craven being my very great friends.

14th. My heart and head to-night is full of the Victualling business, being overjoyed and proud of my success in my proposal about it, it being read before the King, Duke, and the Cabal with complete applause and satisfaction; this Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry both wrote me. My own proper accounts are in great disorder, having been neglected about a month. This, and the fear of the sickness, and providing for my family, do fill my head very full, besides the infinite business of the office, and nobody here to look after it but myself.

15th. (Lord's day.) Up, and while I stayed for the barber, tried to compose a duo of counter-point: and I think it will do very well, it being by Mr. Berkenshaw's rule. Comes Mr. Povy's coach, and more than I expected, him himself, to fetch me to Branford; so he and I immediately to set out, having drunk a draught of mulled sack; and so rode most nobly in his most pretty and best contrived chariot in the world, with many new conveniences, his never having

till now, within a day or two, been yet finished. Anon we come to his house, and so with fresh horses, his noble, fine horses, the best confessedly in England, the King having none such, he sent me to Sir Robert Viner's, whom I met coming just from church; and he and I into his garden to discourse of money, but none is to be had. The Parliament, it seems, have voted the King £1,250,000 at £50,000 per month tax for the war; and voted to assist the King against the Dutch, and all that shall adhere to them; and thanks to be given him for his care of the Duke of York, which last is a very popular vote on the Duke's behalf. The taxes of the last assessment, which should have been in good part gathered, are not yet laid, and that even in part of the City of London; and the Chimney-money comes almost to nothing, nor anything else looked after.

16th. Up about seven o'clock; and after drinking, and I observing Mr. Povy's being mightily mortified in his eating and drinking, and coaches and horses, he desiring to sell his best, and everything else, his furniture of his house, he walked with me to Sion, and there I took water, in our way he discoursing of the wantonness of the Court, and how it minds nothing else. Upon the Exchange, which is very empty, God knows! and but mean people there. The news for certain that the Dutch are come with their fleet before Margate, and some men were endeavouring to

new supply the streets are, and melancholy; so many poor sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me that in Westminster there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead; but that there are great hopes of a great decrease this week: God send it! At the Tower found my Lord Duke [of Albemarle] and Duchess at dinner, so I sat down; and much good cheer, the Lieutenant and his lady and several officers with the Duke. But, Lord! to hear the silly talk was there would make one mad: the Duke having none almost but fools about him. Much talk about the Dutch, in reproach of them, in whose hands the fleet is; but Lord help him! there is something will hinder him and all the world in going to sea, which is want of victuals, for we have not wherewith to answer our service; and how much better it would have been if the Duke's advice had been taken, for the fleet to have gone presently out; but, God help the King! while no better counsels are given, and what is given no better taken. I have received letters from my Lord Sandwich to-day, speaking very high about the prize goods, that he would have us to fear nobody, but be very confident in what we have done,

and not to confess any fault or doubt of what he hath done; for the King hath allowed it, and do now confirm it, and do send orders, as he says, for nothing to be disturbed that his Lordship hath ordered therein as to the division of the goods to the fleet; which do comfort us. To the Still Yard, which place, however, is now shut up of the plague; but I was there, and we now make no bones of it. Much talk there is of the Chancellor's speech and the King's at the Parliament's meeting, which are very well liked; and that we shall certainly, by their speeches, fall out with France at this time, together with the Dutch, which will find us work.

19th. Came to an agreement yesterday with my landlady for £6 per month, for so many rooms for myself, them, and my wife and maid, when she shall come, and to pay besides for my diet. To the Duke of Albemarle this evening; and among other things, spoke to him for my wife's brother Balty to be of his guard, which he kindly answered that he should. My business of the Victualling goes on as I would have it; and now my head is full how to make some profit of it to myself or people. To that end, when I came home, I wrote a letter to Mr. Coventry, offering myself to be the Surveyor-General, and am apt to think he will assist me in it, but I do not set my heart much on it, though it would be a good help.

back to me, which troubles me, because of my accounts, lest they should be asked for before they come, which I abhor, being more ready to give them than they can be to demand them: so I sent away an express to Oxford with them, and another to Portsmouth, with a copy of my letter to Mr. Coventry.

22nd. (Lord's day.) Met some letters which made me resolve to go after church to my Lord Duke of Albemarle's: so, after dinner, I took Cocke's chariot, and to Lambeth; but in going and getting over the water and through Whitehall, I spent so much time, the Duke had almost dined. However, fresh meat was brought for me to his table, and there I dined, and full of discourse and very kind. There they are again talking of the prizes, and my Lord Duke did speak very broad that my Lord Sandwich and Pen should do what they would, and answer for themselves. For his part he would lay all before the King.

23rd. On board the East India ship, where my Lord Brouncker had provided a great dinner. But I am troubled with the much talk and conceitedness of Mrs. Williams in case she be not married to my Lord. Captain Taylor with me to the office, and there he and I reckoned; and I perceive I shall get £100 profit by my services of late to him, which is a very good thing.

24th. My Lord Sandwich is come to town: so I presently to Boreman's, where he is, and there found him:

private yet, which he tells me he must have with me; only his business is sudden to go to the fleet to get out a few ships to drive away the Dutch. To him again to Captain Cocke's, where he supped, and lies, and never saw him more merry; and here is Charles Harbord, who the King hath lately knighted. My Lord, to my great content, did tell me before them, that never anything was read to the King and Council, all the Chief Ministers of State being there, as my letter about the victualling was, and no more said upon it than a most thorough consent to every word was said.

25th. My Lord tells me that Mr. Coventry and he are not reconciled, but declared enemies—the only occasion of it, being, he tells me, his ill usage from him about the first fight, wherein he had no right done him, which, methinks, is a poor occasion, for, in my conscience, that was no design of Coventry's. He tells me, as very private, that there are great factions at the Court between the King's party and the Duke of York's, and that the King, which is a strange difficulty, do favour my Lord in opposition to the Duke's party—that my Lord Chancellor, being now, to be sure, the patron of the Duke's, it is a mystery whence it should be that Mr. Coventry is looked upon by him [Clarendon] as an enemy to him [Clarendon]; that if he had a mind himself to be out of this employment as Mr. Coventry he believes

many respects, yet he believes he shall not be able because of the King, who will keep him in on purpose, in opposition to the other party; that Prince Rupert and he are all possible friends in the world; that Coventry had aggravated this business of the prizes, though never so great plundering in the world as while the Duke and he were at sea; and in Sir John Lawson's time he could take and pillage, and then sink a whole ship in the Straits, and Coventry say nothing to it; that my Lord Arlington is his fast friend; that the Chancellor is cold to him, and, though I told him that I and the world do take my Lord Chancellor, in his speech the other day to have said as much as could be wished, yet he thinks he did not. That my Lord Chancellor do from hence begin to be cold to him, because of his seeing him and Arlington so great: that nothing at Court is minded but faction and pleasure, and nothing intended of general good to the kingdom by anybody heartily; so that he believes with me, that in a little time confusion will certainly come over all the nation. He told me how a design was carried on a while ago, for the Duke of York to raise an army in the North, and to be the General of it, and all this without the knowledge or advice of the Duke of Albemarle, which, when he came to know, he was so vexed, they were fain to let it fall to content him: that his matching with the

family of Sir G. Carteret makes the difference greater between Coventry and him—they being enemies; that the Chancellor did, as everybody else, speak well of me the other day, but yet was, at the Committee for Tangier, angry that I should offer to suffer a bill of exchange to be protested.

26th. I to the 'Change, where I hear how the French have taken two, and sunk one, of our merchantmen in the Straits, and carried the ships to Toulon; so that there is no expectation but we must fall out with them. The 'Change pretty full, and the town begins to be lively again, though the streets very empty and most shops shut.

27th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, and there much company, but I stayed and dined, and he makes mighty much of me; and here he tells us the Dutch are gone, and have lost above 150 cables and anchors through the late foul weather. He proposed to me from Mr. Coventry that I should be Surveyor-General of the Victualling business, which I accepted. But, indeed, the terms in which Mr. Coventry proposes it for me are the most obliging that ever I could expect from any man, and more; he saying that I am the fittest man in England; and that he is sure, if I will undertake, I will perform it; and that it will be also a very desirable thing that I might have this encouragement, my encouragement in the Navy alone

Thus, added to the letter I had three days since from Mr. Southerne, signifying that the Duke of York had, in his master's absence, opened my letters, and commanded him to tell me that he did approve of my being the Surveyor-General, do make me joyful beyond myself that I cannot express it, to see that as I do take pains so God blesses me, and hath sent me masters that do observe that I take pains.

28th. Sir W. Clerke tells me the Parliament hath given the Duke of York £120,000, to be paid him after £1,250,000 is gathered upon the tax which they have now given the King; also that the Dutch have lately launched sixteen new ships; all which is great news. The King and Court, they say, have now finally resolved to spend nothing upon clothes but what is of the growth of England; which, if observed, will be very pleasing to the people, and very good for them.

29th. (Lord's day.) In the street, at Woolwich did overtake and almost run upon two women crying and carrying a man's coffin between them; I suppose the husband of one of them, which methinks is a sad thing.

31st. Meeting yesterday the Searchers with their rods in their hands, coming from Captain Cocke's house, I did overhear them say that his black did not die of the plague. About nine at night I came home, and there find Mrs. Pierce come, and little Frank

Tooker, and Mr. Hill, and other people, a great many dancing; and anon comes Mrs. Coleman and her husband, and she sung very finely; though her voice is decayed as to strength, but mighty sweet though soft, and a pleasant, jolly woman, and in mighty good humour. Among ether good things Lancare did, at the request of Mr. Hill, bring two or three the finest prints for my wife to see that ever I did see in all my life. But for singing, among other things, we got Mrs. Coleman to sing part of the Opera, though she would not own she did get any of it without book in order to the stage; but above all, her counterfeiting of Captain Cocke's part, in his reproaching his man with cowardice—"Base slave," &c.—she does it most excellently. Thus we end the month merrily; and the more that, after some fears that the plague would have increased again this week, I hear for certain that there is above 400 less; the whole number of deaths being 1,388, and of them of the plague 1,031. Want of money in the Navy puts everything out of order. Men grow mutinous; and nobody here to mind the business of the Navy but myself. I in great hopes of my place of Surveyor-General of the Victualling, which will bring

and that, for myself, chance without merit brought me in; and that diligence only keeps me so, and will, living as I do among so many lazy people that the diligent man becomes necessary, that they cannot do anything without him.

4th. I hear that one of the little boys at my lodging is not well; and they suspect, by their sending for plaister and fume, that it may be the plague; so I sent Mr. Hater and W. Hewer to speak with the mother; but they returned to me, satisfied that there is no hurt nor danger, but the boy is well and offers to be searched. After dinner to the office, and much troubled to have 100 seamen all the afternoon there, swearing below and cursing us, and breaking the glass windows, and swear they will pull the house down on Tuesday next. I sent word of this to Court, but nothing will help it but money and a rope.

5th. (Lord's day.) To the Cock-pit, where I heard the Duke of Albemarle's chaplain make a simple sermon: among other things, reproaching the imperfection of human learning, he cried—"All our physicians cannot tell what an ague is, and all our arithmetic is not able to number the days of a man"—which, God knows, is not the fault of arithmetic, but that our understandings reach not the thing. I hear that the plague increases much at Lambeth, St. Martin's, and Westminster, and fear it will be all over

the City. By water to Deptford, and there made a visit to Mr. Evelyn, who, among other things, showed me most excellent painting in little; in distemper, in Indian ink, water colours, graving, and above all, the whole secret of mezzo-tinto, and the manner of it, which is very pretty, and good things done with it. He read to me very much also of his discourse he hath been many years and now is about, about Gardenage; which will be a most noble and pleasant piece. He read me part of a play or two of his making, very good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his "*Hortus Hyemalis*;" leaves laid up in a book of several plants kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely, better than an Herbal. In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own, that were not transcendant, yet one or two very pretty epigrams; among others, of a lady looking in at a grate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there.

6th. Sir G. Carteret and I did walk an hour in the garden before the house, talking of my Lord Sandwich's business: what enemies he hath, and how they have endeavoured to bespatter him: and particularly

him back again: which is most false. However, he says it was purposed by some hot-heads in the House of Commons, at the same time when they voted a present to the Duke of York, to have voted £10,000 to the Prince, and half-a-crown to my Lord of Sandwich; but nothing came of it. But, for all this, the King is most firm to my Lord, and so is my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Arlington; the Prince in appearance kind; the Duke of York silent, says no hurt, but admits others to say it in his hearing; Sir W. Pen, the falsest rascal that ever was in the world; and that this afternoon the Duke of Albemarle did tell him that Pen was a very cowardly rogue, and one that hath brought all these roguish fanatic captains into the fleet, and swears he should never go out with the fleet again: that Sir W. Coventry is most kind to Pen still; and says nothing, nor does anything openly, to the prejudice of my Lord. He agrees with me, that it is impossible for the King to set out a fleet again the next year; and that he fears all will come to ruin, there being no money in prospect but these prizes, which will bring, it may be, £20,000, but that will signify nothing in the world for it.

7th. To Sir G. Carteret, and I with him by water, and among other things, Lord! to see how he wondered to see the river so empty of boats, nobody working at

the Custom House quays; and how fearful he is, and vexed that his man, holding a wine-glass in his hand for him to drink out of, did cover his hands, it being a cold, windy, rainy morning, under the waterman's coat, though he brought the waterman from six or seven miles up the river too. Nay, he carried his glass with him for his man to let him drink out of at the Duke of Albemarle's, where he intended to dine, though this he did to prevent sluttishness; for the same reason he carried a napkin with him to Captain Cocke's, making him believe that he should not eat with foul linen.

8th. It being a fast-day, all people were at church and the office quiet, so I did much business, and at noon adventured to my old lodging. By water to Deptford, and about eight o'clock at night did take water, being glad I was out of the town, for the plague, it seems, rages there more than ever.

9th. At noon, by water to the "King's Head" at Deptford, where Captain Taylor invites Sir W. Batten and Sir John Robinson, who came in with a great deal of company from hunting, and brought in a hare alive, and a great many silly stories they tell of their sport, which pleases them mightily, and me not at all, such is the different sense of pleasure in mankind, and strange to see how a good dinner and feasting reconciles everybody. The bill of mortality, to all our griefs, is

through the whole City and suburbs, which makes us all sad.

10th. In the evening news is brought me my wife is come, so I to her; and she told me, having herself been this day at my house at London, which was boldly done, that a neighbour of our's, Mr. Hollworthy, a very able man, is dead by a fall in the country from his horse, his foot hanging in the stirrup and his brains beat out.

12th. (Lord's day.) They hope here the plague will be less this week. Reading over part of Mr. Stillingfleet's "*Origines Sacrae*," wherein many things are very good and some frivolous.

14th. Captain Cocke and I in his coach through Kent Street, a sad place through the plague, people sitting sick and with plaisters about them in the street begging. To the Duke of Albemarle by water late, where I find he had remembered that I had appointed to come to him this day about money, which I excused not doing sooner, but I see, a dull fellow as he is, he does sometimes remember what another thinks he mindeth not. My business was about getting money of the East India Company; but Lord! to see how the Duke himself magnifies himself in that he had done with the Company, and my Lord Craven what the King could have done without my Lord Duke, and

a great deal of stir, but most mightily what a brave fellow I am. Back by water, it raining hard, and so to the office, and stopped my going as I intended, to the buoy of the Nore, and great reason I had to rejoice at it, for it proved the night of as great a storm as was almost ever remembered.

15th. To the "King's Head" tavern, where all the Trinity House dined to-day, to choose a new master in the room of Hurlestone that is dead, and Captain Crispe is chosen. After dinner, who comes in but my Lady Batten and a troop of a dozen women almost, and expected, as I found afterwards, to be made mighty much of, but nobody minded them; but the best jest was, that when they saw themselves not regarded, they would go away, and it was horrible foul weather; and my Lady Batten walking through the dirty lane with new spick and span white shoes, she dropped one of her galoshes in the dirt where it stuck, and she forced to go home without one, at which she was horribly vexed, and I led her; and vexing her a little more in mirth, I parted, and to Glanville's, where I knew Sir John Robinson, Sir G. Smith, and

night, and, which was best, I, with drinking small beer, made them all drunk drinking wine, at which Sir John Robinson made great sport. The plague, blessed be God, is decreased 400, making the whole this week but 1,300 and odd, for which the Lord be praised!

16th. To Erith, where, after making a little visit to Madam Williams, she did give me information of W. Howe's having bought eight bags of precious stones taken from about the Dutch Vice-admiral's neck, of which there were eight diamonds, which cost him £4,000 sterling in India, and hoped to have made £12,000 here for them. And that is told by one that sold him one of the bags, which hath nothing but rubies in it, which he had for 35s., and that it will be proved he hath made £125 of one stone that he bought. This she desired, and I resolved I would give my Lord Sandwich notice of. So I off board to my Lord Brouncker, and there he and Sir Edmund Pooley carried me down into the hold of the India ship, and there did show me the greatest wealth lie in confusion that a man can see in the world. Pepper scattered through every chink—you trod upon it; and in cloves and nutmegs I walked above the knees: whole rooms full. And silk in bales, and boxes of copper-plate, one of which I saw opened. Having seen this, which was

as noble a sight as ever I saw in my life, I away on board the other ship in despair to get the pleasure-boat of the gentlemen there to carry me to the fleet. They were Mr. Ashburnham and Colonel Wyndham; but, pleading the King's business, they did presently agree I should have it. So I presently on board, and got under sail, and had a good bed by the shift of Wyndham's.

17th. Sailed all night, and got down to Queenborough water, where all the great ships are now come, and there on board to my Lord, and was soon received with great content. And after some little discourse, he and I on board to Sir W. Pen, and there held a council of war about many wants of the fleet, and so followed my Lord Sandwich, who was gone a little before me, on board the *Royal James*, and there spent an hour, my Lord playing upon the guitar, which he now commends above all music in the world. As an infinite secret, my Lord tells me the factions are high between the King and the Duke, and all the Court are in an uproar with their loose amours; the Duke of York being in love desperately with Mrs. Stewart. Nay, that the Duchess herself is fallen in love with her new Master of the Horse, one Harry Sidney, and another, Harry Savill, so that God knows what will be the end of it. And that the Duke is not so obse-

and that it is said that he proposes to go and command under the King of Spain in Flanders, that his amours to Mrs. Stewart are told the King, so that all is like to be brought among them. Away to my *Bureau* again, and there to read in a pretty French book, "La Nouvelle Allegorie," upon the strife between rhetoric and its enemies—very pleasant. So after supper to sleep, and sailed all night, and came to Erith before break of day.

19th. (Lord's day.) Alone by water to Erith. Being come there, on board my Lord Brouncker, I find Captain Cooke and other company, the lady not well, and mighty merry we were—Sir Edmond Peody being very merry, and a right English gentleman, and one of the discontented cavaliers, that think their loyalty is not considered. After dinner, all on shore to my Lady Williams, and there drank and talked, but Lord's the most impertinent bold woman with my Lord that ever I did see.

20th. Up before day, and so took horse for Newmarket, with two men with me, and the ways very bad, and the weather worse, for wind and rain. Thither and I did get my tallies, and thence took horse but was rained hard and blew, but got home very well. Here I find Mr. Deering come to trouble me about business, which I soon dispatched, he telling me that Lucilia

hath been dead this fortnight of the plague in St. Martin's Lane, which much surprised me.

22nd. I was very glad to hear that the plague is come very low; that is, the whole under 1,000, and the plague 600 and odd: and great hopes of a further decrease, because of this day's being a very exceeding hard frost, and continues freezing. This day the first of the Oxford Gazettes came out, which is very pretty, full of news, and no folly in it, written by Williamson. It pleased me to have it demonstrated, that a Purser without professed cheating is a professed loser twice as much as he gets.

23rd. Up betimes, and so, being trimmed, I to get papers ready against Sir H. Cholmley come to me by appointment, he being newly come over from Tangier. He did by-and-by come, and we settled all matters about his money, and he is a most satisfied man in me, and declares his resolution to give me £200 per annum. It continuing to be a great frost, which gives us hopes for a perfect cure of the plague, he and I to walk in the park, and there discoursed with grief of the calamity of the times. I brought him home, and had a good dinner for him. Captain Cuttance tells me how W. Howe is laid by the heels, and confined to the Royal Katherine, and his things all seized; and how, also, for a quarrel, which indeed my Lord the other

back of another of my Lord's servants, is parted from my Lord. We in extraordinary lack of money and everything else to go to sea next year. My Lord Sandwich is gone from the fleet yesterday towards Oxford.

24th. To London, and there in my way at my old oyster shop in Gracious Street, bought two barrels of my fine woman of the shop, who is alive after all the plague, which now is the first observation or inquiry we make at London concerning everybody we know. To the 'Change, where very busy with several people, and mightily glad to see the 'Change so full, and hopes of another abatement still the next week. I went home with Sir G. Smith to dinner, sending for one of my barrels of oysters, which were good, though come from Colchester, where the plague hath been so much. Here a very brave dinner, though no invitation; and, Lord! to see how I am treated, that come from so mean a beginning, is matter of wonder to me. But it is God's mercy to me, and his blessing upon my taking pains, and being punctual in my dealings. Visited Mr. Evelyn, where most excellent discourse with him; among other things, he showed me a ledger of a Treasurer of the Navy, his great-grandfather, just 100 years old; which I seemed mighty fond of, and he did present me with it, which I take as a great rarity; and he hopes to find me more, older than it. He also

showed us several letters of the old Lord of Leicester's, in Queen Elizabeth's time, under the very handwriting of Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Mary, Queen of Scots; and others, very venerable names. But, Lord! how poorly, methinks, they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper.

26th. (Lord's day.) Up before day to dress myself to go towards Erith, which I would do by land, it being a horrible cold frost to go by water: so borrowed two horses of Mr. Howell and his friend, and with much ado set out, after my horses being frosted, which I know not what it means to this day, and my boy having lost one of my spurs and stockings, carrying them to the smith's, and I borrowed a stocking, and so got up, and Mr. Tooker with me, and rode to Erith, and there on board my Lord Brouncker met with Sir W. Warren upon his business, among others, and did a great deal; Sir J. Minnes, as God would have it, not being there to hinder us with his impertinences. To my wife at Woolwich, where I found, as I had directed, a good dinner to be made against to-morrow, and invited guests in the yard, meaning to be merry, in order to her

against any passing through, so was forced to pass by them again, close to their sick beds, which they were removing out of the house, which troubled me: so I made them uninvite their guests, and to resolve of coming all away to me to-morrow.

27th. To the Duke of Albemarle, who is visited by everybody against his going to Oxford, and mighty kind to me; and upon my desiring his grace to give me his kind word to the Duke of York, if any occasion there were of speaking of me, he told me he had reason to do so, for there had been nothing done in the Navy without me. He is agog to go to sea himself the next year. To dinner, he most exceedingly kind to me, to the observation of all that are there. With Sir G. Carteret, who tells me that my Lord hath received still worse and worse usage from some base people about the Court. But the King is very kind, and the Duke does not appear the contrary; and my Lord Chancellor swore to him, "By— I will not forsake my Lord of Sandwich." I into London, it being dark night, by a hackney coach; the first I have durst to go in many a day, and with great pain now for fear. But it being unsafe to go by water in the dark, and frosty cold, and I unable, being weary with my morning walk, to go on foot, this was my only way. Few people yet in the streets, nor shops open, here and there twenty in a place almost: though not above five

or six o'clock at night. The goldsmiths do decry the new Act, for money to be all brought into the Exchequer and paid out thence, saying they will not advance one farthing upon it; and indeed it is their interest to say and do so. To Sir G. Smith's, it being now night, and there up to his chamber, and sat talking, and I barbing against to-morrow; and anon, at nine at night, comes to us Sir G. Smith and the Lieutenant of the Tower, and there they sat talking and drinking till past midnight, and mighty merry we were—the Lieutenant of the Tower being in a mighty vein of singing, and he hath a very good ear and strong voice, but no manner of skill. Sir G. Smith showed me his lady's closet, which is very fine; and after being very merry, here I lay in a noble chamber, and mighty highly treated, the first night I have lain in London a long time.

28th. Up before day, and Cocke and I took a hackney-coach appointed with four horses to take us up, and so carried us over London Bridge. But there, thinking of some business, I did 'light at the foot of the bridge, and by help of a candle at a stall where some pavers were at work, I wrote a letter to Mr. Hater, and never knew

30th. At noon comes Sir Thomas Allen, and I made him dine with me, and very friendly he is, and a good man, I think, but one that professes he loves to get and to save. Great joy we have this week in the weekly bill, it being come to 544 in all, and but 333 of the plague; so that we are encouraged to get to London soon as we can. And my father writes as great news of joy to them, that he saw York's waggon go again this week to London, and full of passengers: and tells me that my aunt Bell hath been dead of the plague these seven weeks.

December 1. All the day long shut up in my little closet at my office. Then home by promise to my wife, to have mirth there. So we had our neighbours, little Miss Tooker and Mrs. Daniels, to dance, and after supper I to bed, and left them merry below, which they did not part from till two or three in the morning.

2nd. Dined with my wife at noon, and took leave of her, she being to go to London for altogether.

3rd. (Lord's day.) It being Lord's day, up and dressed and to church, thinking to have sat with Sir James Bunce to hear his daughter and her husband sing, that are so much commended, but was prevented by being invited into Colonel Cleggat's pew. How-

Pierce. A good sermon of Mr. Plume's. To Captain Cocke's, and there dined with him and Colonel Wyndham, a worthy gentleman, whose wife was nurse to the present King, and one that while she lived, governed him and everything else, as Cocke says, as a minister of state; the old King putting mighty weight and trust upon her. They talked much of matters of State and persons, and particularly how my Lord Barkeley hath all along been a fortunate, though a passionate, and but weak man as to policy; but as a kinsman, brought in and promoted by my Lord of St. Albans, and one that is the greatest vapourer in the world, this Colonel Wyndham says; and to whom only, with Jack Ashburnham and Colonel Legg, the King's removal to the Isle of Wight from Hampton Court was communicated; and, though betrayed by their knavery, or at best by their ignorance, insomuch that they have all solemnly charged one another with their failures therein, and have been at daggers drawing, publicly, about it, yet now none greater friends in the world.

4th. Home to my house at the office, where my wife hath got a dinner for me; and it was a joyful thing for us to meet here, for which God be praised! Here was her brother come to see her, and speak with me about business. It seems that my recommendation of him hath not only obtained his presently being ad-

Howard's direction, to be put as a right-hand man, and other marks of special respect, at which I am very glad—partly for him, and partly to see that I am reckoned something in my recommendations. Upon the 'Change to-day, Colvill tells me, from Oxford, that the King in person hath justified my Lord Sandwich to the highest degree; and is right in his favour to the uttermost.

6th. Up betimes, it being fast-day; and by water to the Duke of Albemarle, who came down to town from Oxford last night. He is mighty brisk, and very kind to me, and asks my advice principally in everything. He surprises me with the news that my Lord Sandwich goes Ambassador to Spain speedily; though I know not whence this arises, yet I am heartily glad of it. I spent the afternoon upon a song of Solymán's words to Roxalana that I have set, and so with my wife and Mercer, walked to Mrs. Pierce's, where Captain Rolt and Mrs. Knipp, Mr. Coleman and his wife, and Laneare, Mrs. Worshipp and her singing daughter, met; and by-and-by, unexpectedly comes Mr. Pierce from Oxford. Here the best company for music I ever was in, in my life, and wish I could live and die in it, both for music and the face of Mrs. Pierce, and my wife, and Knipp, who is pretty enough; but the most excellent, mad-humoured thing,

and sings the noblest that ever I heard in my life, and Rolt, with her, some things together, most excellently. I spent the night in an ecstasy almost; and, having invited them to my house a day or two hence, we broke up, Pierce having told me how the King hath done my Lord Sandwich all the right imaginable, by showing him his countenance before all the world on every occasion, to remove thoughts of discontent; and he is to go Ambassador, and the Duke of York is made General of all forces by land and sea, and the Duke of Albemarle Lieutenant-General.

8th. To give orders to my maid to buy things to send down to Greenwich for supper to-night; and I also to buy other things, as oysters, and lemons 6d. per piece, and oranges 3d. To Whitehall, where we found Sir G. Carteret with the Duke, and also Sir G. Downing, whom I had not seen in many years before. He greeted me very kindly, and I him; though methinks I am touched that it should be said that he was my master heretofore, as doubtless he will. Sir G. Carteret tells me that he is glad of my Lord's being made Ambassador, and that it is the greatest courtesy his enemies could do him; yet I find that he is not heartily merry upon it, and that it is no design of my Lord's friends, but the prevalence of his enemies, and that the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert are like to go to sea together the next year. I pray God,

when my Lord is gone, they do not fall hard upon the Vice-Chamberlain, being alone, and in so envious a place. By water down to Greenwich, and there found all my company come—that is, Mrs. Knipp, and an ill, melancholy, jealous-looking fellow, her husband, that spoke not a word to us all the night, Pierce and his wife, and Rolt, Mrs. Worshipp and her daughter, Coleman and his wife, and Laneare, and, to make us perfectly happy, there comes by chance to town Mr. Hill to see us. Most excellent music we had in abundance, and a good supper, dancing, and a pleasant scene of Mrs. Knipp's rising sick from table, but whispered me it was for some hard word or other her husband gave her just now when she laughed, and was more merry than ordinary. But we got her in humour again, and mighty merry; spending the night till two in the morning, with most complete content as ever in my life. And we to bed—Mr. Hill and I, whom I love more and more, and he us.

9th. My Lord Brouncker and I dined with the Duke of Albemarle. At table, the Duchess, a very ill-looking woman, complaining of her Lord's going to sea the next year, said these cursed words: "If my Lord had been a coward, he had gone to sea no more; it may be then he might have been excused, and made an Ambassador;" meaning my Lord Sandwich. This made me mad, and I believe she perceived my countenance.

change, and blushed herself very much. I was in hopes others had not minded it, but my Lord Brouncker, after we were come away, took notice of the words to me with displeasure. To Mr. Hill, and sang, among other things, my song of "Beauty, retire," which he likes, only excepts against two notes in the bass, but likes the whole very well.

11th. That I may remember it the more particularly, I thought fit to insert this memorandum of Temple's discourse this night with me, which I took in writing from his mouth. Before the Harp and Cross money was cried down, he and his fellow goldsmiths did make some particular trials what proportion that money bore to the old King's money, and they found that it generally come to, one with another, about £25 in every £100. Of this money there was, upon the calling of it in, £650,000 at least brought into the Tower; and from thence he computes that the whole money of England must be full £16,250,000, but, for all this believes that there is about £30,000,000; he supposing that about the King's coming in, when he began to observe the quantity of the new money, people began to be fearful of this money being cried down, and so picked it out and set it a-going as fast as they could to be rid of it; and he thinks £30,000,000 the rather, because, if there were but £16,250,000, the King having £2,000,000 every year, would have the whole money of the

kingdom in his hands in eight years. He tells me, about £350,000 sterling was coined out of the French money, the proceeds of Dunkirk: so that, with what was coined of the Cross money, there is now coined about £1,000,000 besides the gold, which is guessed at £500,000. He tells me that, though the King did deposit the French money in money in pawn all the while for £350,000 he was forced to borrow thereupon till the tools could be made for the new minting in the present form. Yet the interest he paid for that time came to £35,000: Viner having to his knowledge £10,000 for the use of £100,000 of it.

13th. Invited by Sheriff Hooker, who keeps the poorest, mean, dirty table in a dirty house that ever I did see any Sheriff of London; and a plain, ordinary, silly man I think he is, but rich—only his son, Mr. Lethulier, I like, for a pretty, civil, understanding merchant; and the more by much, because he happens to be husband to our noble, fat, brave lady in our parish, that I and my wife admire so. Thence away to the Pope's Head tavern, and called to see my wife, who is well; though my great trouble is that my poor little parish is the greatest number this week in all the City within the walls, having six, from one the last week, and so by water to Greenwich. To Mr. Pierce's, where he and his wife made me drink some tea. Away to the 'Change, and there hear the ill news, to my great

and all our great trouble, that the plague is increased again this week, notwithstanding there hath been a long day, or two great frosts; but we hope it is only the effects of the late, close, warm weather, and if the frost continue the next week, may fall again; but the town do thicken so much with people, that it is much if the plague do not grow again upon us.

15th. Met with Sir James Bunce. "This is the time for you," says he, "that were for Oliver heretofore: you are full of employment, and we, poor Cavaliers, sit still and can get nothing;" which was a pretty reproach, I thought; but answered nothing to it, for fear of making it worse.

16th. News is come to-day of our Sound fleet being come.

17th. (Lord's day.) Word brought me that Cutler's coach is, by appointment, come to the Isle of Dogs for me, and so I over the water: and in his coach to Hackney, a very fine, cold, clear, frosty day. At his house, I find him with a plain little dinner, good wine, and welcome. He is still a prating man; and the more I know him, the less I find in him. A pretty house he hath here indeed, of his own building. His old mother was an object at dinner that made me not like it; and after dinner to visit his sick wife I did not also take much joy in.

18th. To the 'Change, and walked as low as Duck

Lane, and inquired for some Spanish books. Home by water to Greenwich, the river beginning to be very full of ice, so as I was a little frightened, but got home well, it being dark.

20th. Took Sir Ellis Layton to Captain Cocke's, where my Lord Brouncker and Lady Williams dine, and we all mighty merry; but Sir Ellis Layton one of the best companions at a meal in the world.

21st. At noon, all of us dined at Captain Cocke's at a good chine of beef, and other good meat; but being all frost-bitten, was most of it unroast; but very merry, and a good dish of fowl we dressed ourselves. Mr. Evelyn there in very good humour.

22nd. I to my Lord Brouncker's, and there spent the evening by my desire in seeing his Lordship open to pieces and make up again his watch, thereby being taught what I never knew before: and it is a thing very well worth my having seen, and am mightily pleased and satisfied with it. Somewhat vexed at a snappish answer Madam Williams did give me to herself, upon my speaking a free word to her in mirth, calling her a mad jade. She answered, we were not so well acquainted yet. But I was more at a letter from my Lord Duke of Albemarle to-day, pressing us to continue our meetings for all Christmas, which, though everybody intended not to have done, yet I am concluded in it, though I intended nothing less. The

ther hath been frosty these eight or nine days, and we hope for an abatement of the plague the next week, or else God have mercy upon us! for the plague certainly continue the next year if it do not.

3rd. This day one come to me with four great keys, as a present from Mr. Deane, at Harwich, one of which my wife carried in the evening home with her to London in her coach.

4th. (Sunday). To dinner, my landlady and her daughters with me, and had mince-pies, and very merry at a mischance her young son had, in the tearing of his new coat quite down the outside of his sleeve in the whole cloth. Then to church, and placed myself in the parson's pew under the pulpit, to hear the Chamberlain in the next pew sing, who is daughter to Sir James Bunce, of whom I have heard much, and indeed, she sings very finely.

5th. (Christmas day.) To church in the morning, where I there saw a wedding in the church, which I have never seen many a day; and the young people so merry with another! and strange to see what delight we married people have to see these poor fools decoyed into that condition, every man and woman gazing and smiling at them. Here I saw again my beauty Lethulier. I came to look over and settle my papers, both of my accounts private, and those of Tangier, which I have not gone so long that it were impossible for any soul,

had I died, to understand them, or ever come to good end in them. I hope God will never suffer me to come to that disorder again.

26th. To the office, where Sir John Minnes and my Lord Brouncker and I met, to give our directions to the commanders of all the ships in the river to bring in lists of their ships' companies, where young Seymour, among twenty that stood bare, stood with his hat on—a proud, saucy young man. To Mr. Cuttle's, being invited, and dined nobly and neatly; with a very pretty house, and a fine turret at top, with winding stairs, and the first prospect I know about all Greenwich, save the top of the hill. Saw some fine writing-work and flourishing of Mr. Hoare, with one that I knew long ago, an acquaintance of Mr. Tomson's at Westminster, that is this man's clerk. It is the story of the several Archbishops of Canterbury, engrossed in vellum, to hang up in Canterbury Cathedral in tables, in lieu of the old ones, which are almost worn out.

27th. Home to my wife, and angry about her desiring a maid yet, before the plague is quite over. It seems Mercer is troubled that she hath not one under her, but I will not venture my family by increasing it before it is safe.

30th. All the afternoon to my accounts; and there find

for which the Lord be praised! and is principally occasioned by my getting £500 of Cocke, for my profit in his bargains of prize goods, and from Mr. Gauden's making me a present of £500 more, when I paid him £800 for Tangier.

31st. (Lord's day.) Thus ends this year, to my great joy, in this manner. I have raised my estate from £1,300 in this year to £4,400. I have got myself greater interest, I think, by my diligence, and my employments increased by that of Treasurer for Tangier and Surveyor of the Victuals. It is true we have gone through great melancholy because of the great plague, and I put to great charges by it, by keeping my family long at Woolwich; and myself and another part of my family, my clerks, at my charge, at Greenwich, and a maid at London; but I hope the King will give us some satisfaction for that. But now the plague is abated almost to nothing, and I intending to get to London as fast as I can. The Dutch war goes on very ill by reason of lack of money; having none to hope for, all being put into disorder by a new Act that is made as an experiment to bring credit to the Exchequer, for goods and money to be advanced upon the credit of that Act. The great evil of this year, and the only one indeed, is the fall of my Lord Sandwich, whose mistake about the prizes hath undone him, I believe, as to interest at

Court; though sent, for a little palliating it, Ambassador into Spain, which he is now fitting himself for. But the Duke of Albemarle goes with the Prince to sea this next year, and my Lord is very meanly spoken of; and, indeed, his miscarriage about the prize goods is not to be excused, to suffer a company of rogues to go away with ten times as much as himself, and the blame of all to be deservedly laid upon him. My whole family hath been well all this while, and all my friends I know of, saving my aunt Bell, who is dead, and some children of my cousin Sarah's, of the plague. But many of such, as I know very well, dead; yet, to our great joy, the town fills apace, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the plague's decrease! for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to wreck as to public matters, they at this distance not thinking of it.

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